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Libes
of the
Queens of England

VOLUME XVI

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Vol. 16

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST

*FROM THE OFFICIAL RECORDS
AND OTHER PRIVATE AND PUBLIC
AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS*

BY

AGNES STRICKLAND

PRECEDED BY A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION BY

JOHN FOSTER KIRK

IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES, WITH PLATES

VOLUME XVI

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GEORGE BARRIE & SONS, PHILADELPHIA

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ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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THE victory of Oudenarde obliged the queen to make her usual state-procession to St. Paul's, for the purpose of returning thanks for the success of her arms, which thanksgiving was appointed for August 19, 1708. The duchess of Marlborough, who deemed herself the heroine of the day, was remarkably full of bustle and business on such occasions. Among other important affairs connected with her office as mistress of the robes, she arranged the queen's jewels in the mode she chose them to be worn. But when the royal *cortège* was in progress half-way up Ludgate hill, the duchess happening to cast her eyes on the queen's dress, made the notable discovery that all her majesty's jewels were absent,—a great disrespect to the occasion,

and especially to her. Her rage broke out instantly, but what she said or did to induce an overflowing torrent of words from the lips of the usually taciturn queen has not been recorded. It is certain, however, that they entered St. Paul's cathedral quarrelling, the queen retorting the taunts of her companion so loudly that the intrepid dame experienced some alarm, not at the anger of the queen, but lest the people, who detested the duchess, should overhear, and take an undesirable part in the contest. The queen continued to speak loudly and angrily after they had both taken their places in the cathedral, on which the duchess insolently told her royal mistress "not to answer her!" or, as other accounts say, bade the queen "to hold her tongue!"

The queen had endured much, but this insult, which she never forgot, brought all heart-burnings to open and angry discussions. The duchess of Marlborough never committed an outrage against her much-enduring mistress without instantly flying to her bitter pen, and stamping the "airy nothingness" of uttered words with the visible and permanent injuries of written documents. No sooner had she obtained a letter from her husband, which she thought reflected on the queen, than she enclosed it to her majesty in the following meek epistle:—

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.¹

[August, 1708.]

"I cannot help sending your majesty this letter, to show how exactly lord Marlborough agrees with me in opinion that he has now no interest with you, though, when I said so in the church *a Thursday*, you were pleased to say it was untrue. And yet I think he will be surprised to hear, that when I had taken so much pains to put your jewels in a way that I thought you would like, Mrs. Masham could make you refuse to wear them in so unkind a manner, because *that* was a power she had not thought fit to exercise before.

"I will make no reflections on it, only that I must needs observe that your majesty chose a very wrong day to mortify me, when you were just going to return thanks for a victory obtained by my lord Marlborough."

In answer to this tirade on petty affronts, the queen replied with more dignity than usual:—

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 219.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

[Sunday.]

"After the *commands* you gave me on the thanksgiving-day of not answering you, I should not have troubled you with these lines but to return the duke of Marlborough's letter safe into your hands; and for the same reason, I do not say anything to that, or to yours which enclosed it."

Had the queen always assumed the tone perceptible in this answer, she would have been spared many an insult from her ungrateful servant, who returned to the charge, it is true, in reply, but struck her sails in the conclusion of her despatch :—

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.

"I should not trouble your majesty with any answer to your last short letter but to explain what you seem to mistake in what I said at church. I desired *you* not to answer *me*, for fear of being overheard; and this you interpret as if *I* had desired *you* not to answer *me* at all! which was far from my intention, for the whole end of my writing to you so often was, to get your answer to several things in which we differed,—if I was in the wrong, that you might convince me, and I should very readily have owned my mistakes. But since you have not been pleased to show them to me, I flatter myself that I have said several things that are *unanswerable*. . . .

"The word *command*, which you use at the beginning of your letter, is very unfitly supposed to come from *me*. For though I have always writ to you as a friend, and lived with you as such for so many years, with all the truth, and honesty, and zeal for your service that was possible, yet I shall never forget that I am your subject, nor cease to be a faithful one."

Many years had passed away since the grand duchess had concluded a letter to her royal mistress in a style so well befitting their respective stations.

Other griefs than those occasioned by the arrogance of her palace-dictator pressed on the queen's heart. The symptoms of the prince required change of air, and in a few days after her stormy procession to St. Paul's, she commenced an easy progress with him to the west of England. "The prince of Denmark, being very much indisposed with asthma this summer, was advised by his physicians to go to *the* Bath, and her majesty, who was ever eminent for her conjugal affection, as another proof of it, resolved to attend him thither; and accordingly her majesty and the prince set out the 26th of August at Windsor, designing to sleep at Oxford that night. At their entrance into Oxfordshire they were met by the earl of Abingdon, lord-lieuten-

ant of that county, the high sheriff and most of the gentlemen of that county, and at some distance from Oxford by the vice-chancellor, doctors, and masters in their robes, on horseback; and thus they were attended to Christ church, where they supped. The next day, the queen was pleased to honor the university with her presence in convocation, where the university orator congratulated her arrival among them, and many of the courtiers were admitted to the degree of LL.D. From the convocation-house the queen went to the theatre, where she was entertained with a vocal and instrumental concert, and several poesies were exhibited in honor of her visit. She was afterwards entertained by the university at dinner, and then set out with the prince for Cirencester, where she rested that night, and the next day reached *the Bath*. They were previously met on the borders of the county of Somerset by the high-sheriff and gentlemen of the shire, and within half a mile of the city of *the Bath* by two hundred maids, richly dressed in the costume of Amazons, and at the west gate by the mayor and corporation in their formalities, who attended them to the Abbey-house, which was prepared for their reception. The night closed with illuminations, and other popular manifestations of joy.”¹

The same autumn the queen's statue was completed, which is still in the area before the west door of St. Paul's cathedral. Bird, the sculptor, received, by a very odd computation, 250*l.* for this statue, for each of the four allegorical figures round the base the sum of 220*l.*, and 50*l.* for the arms and shield.² As a work of art, the statue of the queen has been furiously abused; it has, however, the merit of personal resemblance. Just as the figure was placed in its present situation, public rumor was universal that the queen meant to free herself from the domestic tyranny of the duchess of Marlborough, and all the whigs foresaw their ensuing banishment from the public wealth which they were actively and greedily imbibing. An outcry was raised against the poor statue, of the most malignant de-

¹ Life of her late majesty Queen Anne; in two vols.

² Life of Sir Christopher Wren, by Elmes, p. 491.

scription; pasquinades issued daily, in which the original was not spared. Indeed, all sorts of vices were attributed to Anne with unsparing calumny, in order to degrade her in the eyes of her loving people against the day when parties should try their strength. A malignant epigram, which was found one night appended to the statue, is attributed to the pen of the politician-physician, Dr. Garth. In positive terms it accuses the queen of the habit of intoxication, when, at the most, over-indulgence in eating and drinking more rich food and strong wine than was wholesome for a person who had no great personal fatigue to endure is all that can be justly laid to the charge of queen Anne. Had it been more, her domestic foe, the duchess of Marlborough, in the malicious character she afterwards drew of the queen, would have been delighted to mention any time when she had actually seen her royal mistress in a state of inebriety; but she only notices that calumny to deny it.¹ The documentary assertions which fasten on queen Anne this disgraceful imputation are contained in the correspondence of baron de Schutz (envoy from Hanover to England) to the baron de Bothmar (Hanoverian minister at the Hague); the former says that Cadogan² had told him "that he considered the greatest advantage to the whigs was, the continuation of the war of the emperor against France. He likewise thought that the deaths of Louis XIV., the Pretender, and queen Anne would be advantageous to them, and very likely to happen; for the first was old, the second consumptive, and as for queen Anne, that she got drunk every day, as a remedy to keep the gout from her stomach."³ Garth's epigram is as follows:—

"VERSES ON QUEEN ANNE'S STATUE IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.⁴

"Here mighty Anna's statue placed we find,
Betwixt the darling passions of her mind,—
A brandy-shop before, a church behind.
But why thy back turn'd to that sacred place,
As thy unhappy father's was to grace?

¹ Character of Queen Anne, by the duchess of Marlborough; Coxe MSS.

² Cadogan was a tool of the Marlborough faction.

³ Hanover Papers, Macpherson, 1703, vol. ii. p. 503.

⁴ Add. MSS. 5832, fol. 144.

Why here, like Tantalus in torments placed,
To view those waters which thou canst not taste?
Though by thy proffer'd globe we may perceive,
That for a dram thou the whole world wouldst give."

Whilst the decline and illness of the queen's consort became matter of conversation and speculation throughout Europe, an Italian magician wrote several letters to her majesty, which now remain in the State-Paper office. They are indited in rather elegant Italian, and written in the true Italian hand of the seventeenth century. The writer professes to be a nobleman in distress,—an Italian philosopher of anti-Catholic principles; but his domain pertained to the state of Asti, near the seat of war, on the Italian side of Piedmont, where he was surrounded by persecuting Papists, who neither relished his liberal principles, nor his profession of art-magic. In consequence, the French armies had totally ruined him, and devastated his estate; they had done him mischief to the amount of 30,000 English pounds sterling. He would, however, be contented if her high and mightiest majesty of Great Britain would, out of her beneficence and good grace, accord him 10,000*l.* sterling English money. Principe Eugenio (prince Eugene), he adds, knew him right well, and could inform queen Anne that he was a true sufferer in the Protestant cause. He moreover insinuates that *principe* Eugenio was a customer of his in some of his magical quackeries, an assertion which irresistibly recalls the memory of the prosecution of that prince's mother in the *chambre ardente*, as a customer of La Voisin.

The first letters, although too long for direct translation, seem to be appeals deserving of the queen's attention, being evidently penned by a man of erudition and refinement. It is not possible to tell whether any notice was taken of them by the queen or prince George, who is apparently the object of the application, as he is repeatedly named in the course of the correspondence, with allusions to his failing health. The last letters contain the gist of the writer's mind; he there very frankly offers, in consideration of the ten thousand guineas (which he trusts queen Anne will

award him in compensation of all he has suffered in her cause), to send her his famous elixir of life, which will restore her to her former beautiful youth, and will entirely heal and restore the serene Danish prince, her spouse, and make him as handsome and young as ever. Likewise, if she will give him a place in her Tower of London, he will there work for her in his wonderful art of alchemy, turning all her old copper, pewter, tin, brass, and lead into the purest gold and silver. Thus, another Raymond Lully volunteered to be master of the Mint. It happened that queen Anne had put her affairs of that department in very different hands,—even in those of sir Isaac Newton, who was then master of her Mint. No indication appears that queen Anne gave any encouragement to this earlier Cagliostro of the seventeenth century. It is said that there are no archives of any sovereign in the world but what contain similar temptations and proposals. Queen Elizabeth was beset with them all her life, and, in some instances, gave heed to their wretched delusions; queen Mary II. consulted vulgar fortune-tellers, but there is no weakness of the kind at present discovered of queen Anne, whose name is in no way connected with occult practices, or with any encouragement given to the writer of these curious letters preserved in the State-Paper office. But her majesty was much molested with mysterious missives from Italy, which are extant in the same collection,—witness the letters written by order of the pope, very affectionately claiming her as a dear daughter of his church. How queen Anne deserved these tender greetings cannot be guessed, excepting, as before remarked, the pope considered “the healing-office” a sign of her compliance; but Henry VIII., queen Elizabeth, and all the sovereigns of the Reformation, practised the same. The solution must therefore be left unexplained,—only remarking, that if the Roman Catholic religion had been cherished by no other person more than by queen Anne, it must have long ago disappeared from Europe.

The queen thought her husband perfectly recovered on her return from Bath. Her people felicitated her on her hopes, and poured in congratulatory addresses on his con-

valescence. Prince George himself knew better; and when the queen prepared to take her usual excursion to the October sports at Newmarket, he entreated her not to leave him. Bishop White Kennet, then attending the court, and officiating at divine service, makes the following remarks, in a letter,¹ dated October 2, 1708:—

“On Thursday night I was pressed away, by command, into service here the next morning, for want of ordinary chaplains, which I wish it were in my power to rectify, that you might see the duties of waiting. I was under the sad apprehension of being hurried away to Newmarket; but her majesty, resisting the advice of her physicians, was pleased, yesterday, to comply with a *motion* [wish] of the prince, and declared her resolution of *not* going this season to Newmarket, which is a great joy to most of the good courtiers, and gave the ladies a new lesson,—that she who governs the nation so well, can govern herself so well as always to oblige her husband.”

The comment of the literary bishop is certainly true; the queen enjoyed a degree of domestic felicity which had not then been witnessed in the life of a queen-regnant. There are some panegyric lines to be seen in the print-room at the British Museum, representing queen Anne and her consort in the same engraving, in profile. The poetry is fulsome, like most of that stamp, yet the conjugal happiness of Anne is well expressed in the first lines:—

“The only married queen that ne’er knew strife,
Controlling monarchs, but submissive wife;
Like angels’ sighs her downy passions move,
Tenderly loving and attracting love.
Of every grace and virtue she’s possest,—
Was mother, wife, and queen, and all the best.”

Among the struggles in the political world, much agitation existed to carry the point of inducing the queen to receive the whig republican, lord Somers, as her lord president of council. On that head lord Godolphin observes, “that the duke of Somerset had told him, with the air of a great minister, ‘that the queen had no aversion to Somers; but he had once disobliged the prince, and it was vain to suppose he would ever suffer his appointment.’”² A few days afterwards, Godolphin wrote these words to the

¹ Inedited Lansdowne MSS., 825, fol. 79.

² Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 156.

duchess of Marlborough:—"The prince seems in no good way at all, in my opinion, as to health; and I think the queen herself seems now much more apprehensive of his condition than I have formerly known her on the same occasion."¹ The intimation thus conveyed gave rise to a proceeding, on the part of the duchess of Marlborough, which must have wofully increased the anguish that rent the heart of the queen; for it is no slight aggravation to sorrow, when hard fate obliges any one to suffer the extremity of grief in the presence of a sneering enemy, who has a right to intrude as an evil observer, watching and commenting on every emotion that takes place round the bed of death. And such (as will be speedily shown from her *own* narrative) was the fiendish conduct of the cruel woman who played the part,—first, of Anne's temptress to all the evil she did commit; and lastly, of her reviler and calumniator.

The unhappy queen was assiduously attending on her dying husband, performing all the offices for him of a tender and patient nurse, when one of the hateful missives of the duchess of Marlborough was put into her hands. It was in her usual style of insult; no mercy of common decency or respect to the poor queen's grief was shown, but her intimation of taking advantage of her high court-offices, and intruding her detestable presence at the bed of death, was prefaced by these words, justly termed offensive by her late biographer:—"Though the last time I had the honor to wait upon your majesty your usage of me was such as was scarce possible for me to imagine, or any one to believe . . ." The queen had scarcely read these lines, when the insolent writer entered her presence; for, craftily expecting exclusion from the sick-room of the prince, she had brought her letter herself, and taking advantage of her privilege as mistress of the robes, she boldly followed its delivery, and thrust herself into the presence, before Anne could order her to be excluded. The queen received her

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough; letters of Godolphin to the duchess, p. 170.

² Life of the Duchess of Marlborough, by Mrs. Thomson.

coolly, and as a stranger. The duchess was, in consequence, as much exasperated as if she had deserved a different reception. According to the testimony of an eye-witness, "the deportment of the duchess of Marlborough, while the prince was actually dying, was of such a nature that the queen, then in the height of her grief, was not able to bear it." Agony conquered the timidity with which this overbearing spirit had always inspired Anne; and assuming the mien and tone of sovereign majesty, she said to the duchess, with marked displeasure in her countenance, "Withdraw!"¹ For once, the queen was obeyed by her. In a few minutes death dealt the blow, and made Anne, queen of Great Britain, a widow, after a happy marriage of twenty years' duration, unruffled by a dispute and uninterrupted by a rival on either side. The prince died at Kensington palace, October 28, 1708, O. S. He was born at Copenhagen, February 29, 1653; consequently, the birthday of the prince-consort occurred only once in four years, when leap-year brought round the 29th of February.² On those occasions, his loving queen kept it with fourfold splendor. George of Denmark was very lofty in stature, and when he grew corpulent his appearance was gigantic.

The queen sat by the bed of death, "weeping and clapping her hands together,"³ or wringing them in the unutterable anguish of her first bereavement. She was a monarch, and etiquette, whose chains are almost as inexorable as the sterner tyrant that had just bereaved her of the husband of her youth, required that the mistress of the robes should lead her from the chamber. The duchess of Marlborough had not departed when the queen bade her withdraw,—she had only retired into the background; she

¹ Scott's Swift. *Memoirs on the Change of the Queen's Ministry*, vol. iii. p. 174. Informed by Abigail Masham, who is, as a witness, as much deserving credit as any other contemporary. The fact is confirmed by the extra malignity which the duchess infuses into her narrative of the death of the prince-consort, from which it is evident that she had met with some rebuke of a more decided nature than usual from the queen.

² Swift's *Journal*. "This is leap-year and leap-day; likewise," writes the dean, "prince George's birthday."

³ Such are the words of the duchess of Marlborough.

saw the prince die. When it was needful for her to act a decided part, she noticed that the prince's servants were crowding round his body, which prevented her from approaching to perform her official duty; upon which she went up to lady Burlington, and desired her to give her an opportunity of speaking to the queen. Lady Burlington did so readily, and every one went out with her; the queen and the duchess of Marlborough were left alone with the corpse of the prince. The duchess knelt down by the queen, and began to offer consolation. Her majesty heeded her not, "but clapped her hands together, with other marks of passion." When the duchess had exhausted her consolations, she continued kneeling in silence by her royal mistress. After some time the duchess asked the queen, "If her majesty would not please to go to St. James's palace?" "I will stay here," replied the queen. "That is impossible," said the duchess; "what can you do in such a dismal place?"¹

"I made use of all the arguments," pursues the duchess of Marlborough, "*common* on that head, but all in vain; the queen persisted 'she would stay at Kensington.' Upon which I fancied that her chief difficulty in removing was, for fear she should not have so much of Mrs. Masham's company as she desired, if she removed from thence."² Who but this person, at such a time and place, with the dead body of the queen's husband stretched before them, could have had a recurrence of her paltry jealousies, or attributed such reasons to the bereaved widow? The duchess then resumed her strain of consolation, in a manner and phraseology peculiar to herself:—"I said, 'Nobody in the world ever continued in a place where a dead husband lay; and where could she be but within a room or two of *that dismal body*? but if she were at St. James's, she need not see anybody that was uneasy to her, and she might see any person that was a comfort to her as well there as anywhere else.' I could see by her face that she had satisfaction in that, and so I went on saying, she might go away privately in

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. pp. 410-416.

² Ibid.

my coach, with the curtains down, and see nobody; and that if she would give me leave, I would tell Mr. Lowman to make the company go away, that she might go to the coach easily. Upon which she consented to go: I led her to her closet in Kensington palace. When she left *him* [the prince's corpse], she expressed some *passion*,"¹ meaning, that the queen gave way to paroxysms of grief.

The queen required to be left in her own closet, to commune with her own spirit on her bereavement. Her majesty, taking off her watch, said to the duchess of Marlborough, "Don't come in to me before the hand of my watch comes to this place." The duchess took the watch, and the queen added, "Send to Masham to come to me before I go." If the duchess had had previously the slightest feeling for the queen's loss and distress, this order turned it all to gall and bitterness, although the queen's wish to see and give her commands to one who had been her chief attendant during her long vigils by her suffering husband was very natural. The duchess of Marlborough from that moment continues her narrative with unsparing malignity; she says, withal, commenting upon the royal order, "I thought it very shocking; but at that time resolved not to say the least wry word to displease her, and therefore answered that 'I would,' and went out of the queen's closet with her watch in my hand." Thus the duchess did not, as usual, both defy and disobey the directions of the queen; but, out of consideration for her majesty's state, was contented with disobedience only. "I gave," she continues, "Mr. Lowman² the necessary orders; but as I was sitting at the window, watching the minute when to go to the queen's closet, I thought it so disagreea-

¹ This remark is in the beginning of the dialogue between the queen and the duchess of Marlborough, but, from several traits, it evidently occurred as the writer has arranged it. The duchess, like many persons writing from memory, mentions a fact, and then recurs back to what preceded it. Of course, the prince's servants would not have intruded into the queen's closet, nor could they have crowded round the prince's body *there*, as expressly described; therefore the scene evidently took place in the prince's chamber after it had been cleared, for the duchess appeals to that "dismal body," and to the act of her "leading the queen away from *him*."

² Lowman was housekeeper at Kensington.

ble for me to send for Mrs. Masham to go to the queen before all that company, that I resolved to avoid *that*. When the time came, I went into the closet and told the queen 'I had not sent for Mrs. Masham, for I thought it would make a disagreeable noise, when there were bishops and ladies of the bedchamber waiting without that her majesty did not care to see; and that she [the queen] might send for Masham herself to her, to come to St. James's at what time she pleased.' To this she [the queen] consented."¹ The royal widow, in the first anguish of her grief, did not trouble herself to question who was most likely to make a "disagreeable noise;" but it was not probable that either the bishops or ladies would have done so because her majesty merely required the personal attendance of her bedchamber woman before she went into the open air to the carriage.

It was the policy of the jealous duchess to take utter possession of the queen in her solitary state. Well she knew it would run through the town that she had carried off the royal widow in her own carriage, without Harley's relatives being apparently thought of by her majesty. For this great end, the duchess had swallowed her present rage at the queen's rebuke just before the prince expired, and clung to all the privileges of her places with patience and pertinacity; yet she did not succeed quite so thoroughly as her bold and clever diplomacy deserved.

The queen called "for her hoods,"² and Mrs. Mary Hill, the sister of Abigail Masham, fulfilled the duties of her office by putting on the queen's carriage-costume. As she did it, the duchess saw the queen whisper to her, and suspected that it was a kind message to her sister, Mrs. Masham, "who," adds the duchess, "had not appeared before *me* at Kensington; but upon the alarm of the queen being to go with *me* to St. James's palace, she came into the gallery [at Kensington palace] with one of her ministers, the Scotch doctor Arbuthnot, to see her majesty pass."³ The queen was, as of old, leaning on the arm of the duchess of Marlborough, as she took her way through her household in

¹ Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 415.

³ *Ibid.*

Kensington palace gallery, her servants lining each side of it. "Notwithstanding the queen's affection for the prince," observes the duchess, her venom warming as her tale proceeded, "at the sight of that charming lady, as her arm was on mine, I found she had strength to bend down towards Mrs. Masham like a sail, for in passing, she went some steps nearer to her than was necessary. And when that cruel touch was over, of going by her with me, she [the queen] turned about in a little passage room, and gave orders about her dogs and a strong box. When we came to my coach, she [the queen] had a very extraordinary thought, as it appeared to me: she desired me 'to send to my lord treasurer [Godolphin], and to beg him to take care and examine whether there was room in *some vault*¹ to bury the prince at Westminster, and to leave room for her too.' I suppose it was where her family, kings and queens, had been laid."

What lack of affection was there here? even if the thoughts of the bereaved wife *were* employed in cares, however useless, regarding his remains in death, whose comforts she had just been sedulously watching over while life lasted, not even leaving him in the last struggle, and scarcely prevailed on to quit his breathless clay when all was over? Was it any proof of coldness in the queen that, in a moment like that, thoughts should occupy her mind of the time when she should be placed by his side? and, as she must perforce die childless and friendless, that heed might be taken to leave room in the vault to put the coffin by that of her husband? It was natural enough for the poor queen to whisper to herself, "Who is there that will take heed for me, when I am dead, that I am placed by his side?" No crime in this; but it is one of the instances which prove that, however active malice may be, if a contemporary writer will but narrate individual traits in their course of occurrence, the truth of character and feeling must appear to unprejudiced persons, whatsoever may be the colored

¹ The royal vault of the Stuarts, at one side of Henry VII.'s chapel, made by Charles II.; where Mary II., William III., George of Denmark, and queen Anne herself were actually buried.

veil that adverse party may throw over facts by forced inferences being drawn.

"When we arrived at St. James's," continued the duchess,¹ "I carried her very privately through *my* lodgings to her green closet, and gave her a cup of broth. Afterwards she *eat* a very good dinner. At night I found her at table again, where she had been eating, and Mrs. Masham close by her. Mrs. Masham went out of the room as soon as I came in, not in the humble manner she had sometimes affected as bedchamber woman, but with an air of insolence and anger. I attended the queen upon this affliction with all the care that was possible, to please her, and never named Mrs. Masham to her. She [the queen] would make me sit down, as she had done formerly, and make some little show of kindness at night, when I took my leave; but she would never speak to me freely of anything, and I found I could *gain no ground*. Not to be wondered at, for I never came to her but I found Mrs. Masham just gone out from her, which at last tired me, and I went to her seldomer."

There is great trouble taken by the duchess of Marlborough, as she pursues her narrative of the royal conduct in the early days of widowhood, to force inferences that the queen regarded the memory of her husband with indifference. Nothing, however, bears out her assertion, excepting the cup of broth and the good dinner; but then she does not tell how long her majesty had been watching and fasting before the prince expired. She again recurs to her grand proof of the queen's hard-heartedness, which was the care her majesty took lest the body of her departed consort should be shook or discomposed in removal. "Before the prince was buried," continues the duchess, "the queen passed a good deal of time looking into precedents, that she might order how it was to be performed, which I thought unusual, and not very *decent*. But she [the queen] naturally loved all forms and ceremonies, and remembered more of them than I could ever do; but she had *bits* of great tenderness for the prince."

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 415.

Anne evidently continued to think that she was doing duty to her lost consort by occupying her thoughts incessantly about him; it is no proof that she did not feel grief, but that she took the natural way of giving it vent. Her known predilection for these little ceremonials of etiquette and precedence gives reason to suppose the account is true, although her continued care to arrange so that she could, when dead, be laid by the side of her husband without any trouble or expense to her successors, is most maliciously dwelt upon. If there was not room for this purpose in the Stuart vault at Westminster abbey, her majesty meant, according to the inimical duchess's own showing, to have a new vault or mausoleum instantly constructed, which would hold the prince's coffin and her own. Such anxiety can only be construed by the inverted logic of party spite into indifference for the dead. In truth, although funereal rites and ceremonies do seem as nought to many minds under the acute pressure of grief, the necessity of the nearest relatives giving orders concerning them was wisely ordained, even for those who most truly grieve. Many a heart would have burst with sorrow, if the attention had not been forced to these observances. Neither is there any reason to blame matter-of-fact persons, who have by nature no ideality, because they show their love by affectionate solicitude concerning the remains of their lost friends.

Perhaps the muniments of historical biography contain not a more revolting remark than the following sneer at the very natural emotion felt by the queen:—"I remember she wrote me a little note, at which *I* could not help *smiling*, 'that I should send to my lord treasurer [Godolphin], to take care that some door might be taken down at the removing of the dear prince's body to Westminster, for fear the body of the dear prince should be shook as he was carried out of some room;' though she [the queen] had gone long jumbling journeys with him to the Bath, when he must feel it when he was gasping for breath."¹ There was nothing in the queen's note, as thus quoted, which could

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 416.

irresistibly provoke a grin,—at least on any human countenance. It was likewise natural enough that the royal lady, who had shared these jumbling journeys with her husband, caring for him, and tending him while gasping for breath, should take the fond heed her enemy laughed at, lest the “body of the dear prince should be shook or disturbed.” The enemy winds up her climax of malignity by saying, “I did see the tears in the queen’s eyes two or three times after his death, and I believe she *fancied* she loved him. She was certainly more concerned for him than she was for Gloucester’s death; but her nature was very hard, and she was not apt to cry.”¹ The few persons who have seen and read this statement, actually quote it as a proof that queen Anne was indifferent to the loss of her husband. How could they mistrust the assertions of such celebrities as the duchess of Marlborough or Horace Walpole, although the real facts stared them in the face, even in the very fabric of these persons’ own narratives! Perhaps queen Anne ought to have comported herself differently, and shown conjugal grief after the model of her censor, of whom it is said that, in the sick chamber of the duke of Marlborough, her ungracious grace being thrown into one of her furious fits of rage at something the physician, Dr. Mead, had said or done, she flew after him to the grand staircase, not only threatening loudly to pull off his wig, but with the positive intention of performing that feat, if he had not been too nimble in his escape.²

The interment of the body of the queen’s consort took place November 13th; it had rested in state at Kensington since his demise until November 11th, when it was conveyed to the painted chamber, Westminster, and lay in state one day before burial. The funeral was splendid,³ being attended by all the ministers and great officers of state, and yet it is quoted as being private,—which means, that it was performed in the evening or night by torch-light.

A general mourning and closing of all the theatres fol-

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 114.

² Coxe Papers.

³ Vie de la Reine Anne.

lowed the death of the prince of Denmark. Among other symbols of public grief, the opening of the opera season was delayed until the 14th of December, when a new opera came out, a translation from the "Pirro and Demetrio" of Antonio Morselli. The Italian singer and actor, Nicolini Grimaldi, so well known by the praises of Addison in the *Spectator*, then made his *début*. The other favorite performers in the opera of queen Anne's time were Valentini and Mrs. Tofts.¹ The Italians sang or recited in their native language, while the English singers took up the answers in English.

The queen, absorbed in her grief, could not open her new parliament. The ceremony was performed by commission; addresses of condolence to the queen were voted by both houses of parliament.² That portion of the whig leaders which was considered entirely republican, hitherto excluded, now obtained easy possession of places in the government, having formed a coalition with the family junta of Godolphin and Marlborough. The palace-warfare carried on against the queen by the duchess of Marlborough, which just before the death of the prince had arrived at an open outbreak, sustained something like an armistice and pacification whilst the queen was in the first depth of her grief. What, however, the duchess of Marlborough suppressed in outward clamor, she made up in jealous vigilance, of which the following notification in her own words is an instance:—"Soon after the prince died, the queen, not caring to have it known how much time she passed with Mrs. Masham, ordered Foyster,—I think that was her name,—a woman that had served her from a child, to make fires in two closets that had been prince George's, which led by a door into the waiting-room that was between the queen's dressing-room and the prince's bedchamber at St. James's; and another door, that opened upon his back-stairs, went down to Mrs. Masham's lodgings. After the prince was dead, nobody having occasion to go that way, Mrs. Masham could go to the queen without being seen, for the queen

¹ History of the Italian Opera in England, by W. C. Stafford.

² Vie de la Reine Anne.

went to these closets as if she went to prayers, or to read alone. Before I saw the use she made of them, I wondered why she chose to sit in them, which she had never done before, belonging as they did to the prince; besides, these closets looked only into a very ugly little close space, where Mrs. Masham used to dry linen. When the prince was living, the queen used to sit in her dressing-room, or in one of her other closets, which were both pretty,—one looking into the garden and park, and the other into the second court [of St. James's palace], furnished agreeably with pictures and a couch; but the prince's closets were far from agreeable, one being full of his tools which he worked with." ¹ Here were the same tastes developed in George of Denmark that were afterwards remarkable in Louis XVI., and thus does the human mind instinctively seek its level, even if accident has exalted the person above its natural bias. George of Denmark filled a station which suffered him quietly to play the carpenter in his dull little nook at St. James's; yet the times in which the benevolent but hapless Louis were cast would not permit him with impunity to indulge, among the stately gewgaws of Versailles, in his predilection for the smithy. I have held in my hand the rude and simple keys which the absolute monarch of France amused himself by fashioning. Alas, alas! the true vocation of an absolute ruler must ever be the high science of unlocking the intricacies of the human mind, and adapting those who can govern best to their fittest stations.

The fierce duchess, after hunting the royal widow into her deceased husband's work-closet, made it out a crime that she should sit surrounded by his tools, declaring that a widow, by whom real grief was felt, could not bear to behold aught that belonged to a lost husband. It was probably in this very apartment that the queen had consulted with her only friend, when trouble or danger menaced her, and she clung to the place where she used to confer with her husband, howsoever unpicturesque it might be. "In about a fortnight after the death of the prince-

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough.

consort," pursues the duchess of Marlborough, "his closets were ordered to have fires in them; for the queen herself ordered the pages of the back-stairs and her women to call her from thence when my lord-treasurer Godolphin came to speak with her, or anybody that she was to see. I remember my lord-treasurer Godolphin told me once a thing that happened one night, which became plain enough afterwards. As he was waiting, the page told him that he had *scraped* at the door a good while, but the queen did not hear. I suppose that was occasioned by her being in the further closet, for fear anybody in the waiting-room might overhear what she and Mrs. Masham said; or that she [the queen] might be gone down to her [Mrs. Masham's] chamber, for all that time she saw everybody that Mrs. Masham pleased, professing all the while to have no regard for anybody but lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough."¹

Strong suspicions were excited by this active dame that some contraband interviews with the ex-speaker Harley were effected either in Mrs. Masham's suite, or in the tool-closet of the deceased prince; for the queen, after taking possession of this nook for some weeks, remained enclosed therein several hours every day. Such a line of conduct could not be permitted by her imperious *maire du palais*, who at length called her royal lady to task for her irregular and unlawful proceedings, by telling her "she was amazed."—"When I spoke to her of it," continues the duchess, "she seemed surprised, just like a person who on a sudden becomes sensible of her having done something she would not have done had she duly considered."²

The death of George of Denmark was expected to produce a great change in affairs of state very early in the queen's widowhood. Cunningham, who had been the tutor of one of the queen's intimate advisers, the great duke of Argyle, and therefore had the opportunity of knowing the truth, is the only historian who comments on the influence

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, the original being printed from the Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

² Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 223.

the queen's lost consort had possessed according to the bearing of facts. He says, "The prince of Denmark, who had little favor for the Pretender, and had been secretly acquainted with the queen's thoughts, had formerly very much moderated the aversion she had long conceived against the duchess of Marlborough." The same author likewise bears witness of the deep grief which the queen suffered, in these words:—"The queen, being a widow, was so oppressed with fears, and so overwhelmed with grief for the loss of her deceased consort, that she could scarcely endure the light, though the two houses 'begged that she would not indulge her just sorrow so much as to decline the thoughts of a second marriage,' in which they professed 'that all *their* hopes of happiness did consist.'" But the queen continued a mourner for her late husband, and seemed incapable of consolation.

The queen's widowhood had only lasted three months, when her faithful houses of parliament sent formal addresses importuning her to marry again.¹ Her majesty's answer was neither devoid of regal nor feminine dignity. "I have," replied the royal widow, "taken sedulous care for the Protestant succession,—a proof of my hearty concern for the happiness of the nation; but the subject of the addresses is of that nature, that I am persuaded that a more particular answer is not expected."

For some personal reason not yet revealed, lord Somers had been so entirely obnoxious to the queen's late consort as to prevent his previous appointment as one of the queen's ministers. He likewise remained under the parliamentary ban of impeachment for corruption.² He was president of the council, the ill-living lord Wharton was viceroy of Ireland, lord Pembroke succeeded prince George in the mismanagement of the navy. Godolphin, the lord treasurer, who did not wholly approve of the doings of his new colleagues, was scared into silence by a letter concerning

¹ Parliamentary Journals, January 28, 1708-9; likewise Toone's Chronological History, etc.

² Sir Rowland Guin's letter to the Elector of Hanover, Macpherson's Stuart and Hanover Papers, vol. ii. p. 137.

his correspondence with St. Germain's, held *in terrorem* over him by this clique.¹ A very strange proclamation, emanating from the remnant of prerogative left to queen Anne, namely, that of mercy, is supposed to have been issued by her to save her old servant from this terrible dilemma. This was her general pardon, in which forgiveness for correspondence with St. Germain's was particularly dwelt upon; it surprised the world, but was confirmed by the legislature.² It was brought before parliament by a wife of Godolphin, and received the royal assent by commission, with fifty other acts, May, 1709.³

The shelter the queen gave her lord treasurer for correspondence with the court at St. Germain's was a mere act of self-defence. She too well remembered how deeply she had been compromised by the same correspondence during her quarrel with queen Mary, and that if revelations were commenced, her share would be soon proclaimed; and when the consequences of her favorite Marlborough's betrayal of his countrymen at Camaret bay were blazoned abroad, there would be some difficulty to induce the country at large to believe the queen herself had no share in the iniquity. In order to develop entirely the situation of queen Anne at this juncture, outraged and goaded as she was by the Marlboroughs and their family junta, due remembrance must always be had of her terrors, lest her share in all the evil-doings perpetrated by the various agents of the Revolution should be proclaimed to the world in one of the mad fits into which rage occasionally threw the duchess of Marlborough. Anne dared not exasperate her, she dared not remove her, until sufficient wealth had been gathered by the duke of Marlborough to render their stake in the country such as to insure their interest in keeping affairs in general in stability. The duchess of Marlborough well knew the uneasy state of the queen's

¹ Carte's Memorandum-Book, vol. xi., 4to, p. 27, as quoted in Macpherson's Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 104.

² Ibid.

³ Vie de la Reine Anne, etc., for the fact of her seclusion at this time; Macpherson's Stuart Papers, vol. ii., for the rest. Likewise Hamilton's "Transactions," where the whole is digested into a clear historical narrative.

mind regarding the past ; she therefore boldly gratified her arrogance by subjecting her sovereign to the most galling insults.

The people of England, who believed in the principles of Christianity, were greatly alarmed at the now frequent publication of works, under the patronage of the new ministers, which, wholly leaving the common path of polemics to the numerous dissenters who raged at each other and the church of England, flew on the Christian religion itself, and boldly attacked the very existence of divine revelation. The known infidelity and the immoral lives of Somers, Wharton, and Pembroke, joined to these proceedings, gave determination to the great body of the people to oppose the first flagrant injuries to the church or clergy that the new powers meditated. The queen, absorbed in her grief, seemed disposed to let the world go on its own way during the first winter of her widowhood. Her people remained in moody quiet, waiting respectfully till the queen should be roused from her torpor to make some response to their feelings ; but they watched with jealousy the rise of such clergymen as the " facetious Hoadley,"¹ who were nominated to vacant benefices at the caprice of the minister of state.

The poor queen was not permitted to rest in peace during the twelvemonth which she had devoted to bewail in retirement the loss of her beloved consort. The cannons of the dearly-bought victory of Malplaquet, won by the duke of Marlborough, broke her repose, and forced her again to enter public life. She was obliged to make another procession of thanksgiving to St. Paul's cathedral, but with her eyes red with weeping, and her heart appalled at the carnage of twenty thousand of her subjects, lying stiff and stark in the trenches of that fatal Flemish town. The queen's broken spirit certainly emboldened the duke of

¹ Biog. Britannica. After this *bon vivant* of theatrical tastes (such as the theatre was in *those* days) had been forced, to the lasting injury of the church of England in Wales, upon the see of Bangor, he never beheld his diocese, remaining obstinately an absentee. He was finally endowed with the "golden Winchester," as a warning to uncompromising church-of-England clergymen of self-denying habits and clerical pursuits.

Marlborough to make a proposition, little consistent with the English constitution. On his return from the campaign of Malplaquet, he very coolly demanded of the queen "her patent to make him captain-general for life, intimating that the war would last not only the duration of their lives, but probably forever." Some preliminaries of peace had, for the first time, been discussed that summer; the queen had thus been encouraged to hope a little in the possibility of seeing, in the course of a few months, an end of that murderous war, the details of which filled her with horror. To her, every list of the killed and wounded was a personal reproach; her desire had become ardent to put an end to such slaughter, and here was a man, who, in his drawling condoling voice, was very quietly proposing war forever, and himself at the head of it! The queen dismissed the question by telling him, "that she would take time to consider of it."

Those who deny queen Anne all talent have never examined the personal proceedings of her regnal life. Instead of going with an outcry and complaint to the rest of the Marlborough clique, blaming the wickedness and selfishness of such a proposal, she very naïvely propounded a question to the keeper of her conscience, lord-chancellor Cowper, being one of her ministry who was not a member of the family junta. "In what words," asked queen Anne, "would you draw a commission which is to render the duke of Marlborough captain-general of my armies for his life?" Lord Cowper started with astonishment. No doubt, visions of the turbulence of Prætorian guards, and the tyranny of the military dictators of Rome, flitted before his classic memory; he believed that the queen, in perfect ignorance of what she had promised, was about to yield the constitution of England into the hands of a military dictator. He expressed his opinion forthwith most warmly against drawing any such commission. The queen, with no little tact, bade him "talk to the duke of Marlborough about it." Lord Cowper accordingly went to the great man, and after relating the proposal of the queen, told him, honestly, "he would never put the great seal of England to any such

commission.”¹ The division in their own party caused Marlborough to withdraw this extraordinary manifestation of ambition; he had gone too far even for his own colleagues, and, in consequence, many pious aspirations for a good peace afterwards adorn the epistles of the godly general, and even those of his ungodly spouse.

The queen, roused by a demand the tendency of which was so unmistakable, apprehended an attempt by Marlborough on the crown. The duke of Argyle,² and several lords in whom she thought she could confide, were secretly brought to confer with her majesty on this subject. They were consulted as to what course should be taken by the queen, if, on her refusal of the duke of Marlborough's demand to be made generalissimo for life, any danger should be apprehended from him? when the duke of Argyle suddenly answered, “Her majesty need not be in pain; for he would undertake, if ever she commanded him, to seize the duke of Marlborough at the head of his troops, and bring him before her, dead or alive.” A proceeding of this kind might be satisfactory for the gratification of private revenge, but queen Anne must have felt that, even if successfully performed, such an exploit would only cast her from the power of one military despot into that of another. It was Harley who had brought the secret council together for the protection of the queen, after she had learned, from the lips of Marlborough himself, the point to which his ambition was tending.³ The continuance of the deadly hatred of the duchess for Harley, the origin of which is carefully veiled under generalizing assertions of his worthlessness, needs no further elucidation.

The resistance of the queen to rendering the duke of

¹ Swift's *Memoirs on Change of the Queen's Ministry*.—Scott's Swift, p. 179. Coxe, in his *Life of Marlborough*, fully confirms the facts of this incident. The MS. diary of lord Cowper presents a long hiatus at this important juncture, but in its continuation he alludes to these circumstances.

² The confidence which Anne always reposed in Argyle invests his tutor Cunningham's *History of Great Britain*, at this period, with more authenticity than those of his contemporaries.

³ Swift's *Memoirs on Change of the Queen's Ministry*.—Scott's Swift, p. 180.

Marlborough military ruler of England for life, was, in a very short time, traced to the agency of Harley; and it was discovered, withal, that his cousin, Mrs. Masham, introduced the secret council to the royal presence. It may be supposed that the duchess of Marlborough, when she discovered the proceedings of the adverse party, gave way to torrents of loquacious rage, of which Abigail was the theme. Among other sayings, she reported that the new favorite had been heard to boast "that she could make the queen stand on her head, if she chose to require it;"¹—a trope and figure more in unison with the duchess's own style of audacity, it must be owned, than with the sayings of her cautious kinswoman.

Before the queen signified to the duchess of Marlborough, as mistress of the robes, that she should lay aside her mourning for her deceased consort at the ensuing Christmas festival, her majesty had worn black and white as mourning for prince George, with a mixture of purple. Her precedent was taken from the mourning Mary queen of Scots wore for Darnley, which was exactly in point.² Of course, the preparations for the renewal of royal splendor occasioned personal intercourse between the queen and her officials of the stole and the robes. That intercourse was soon marked by decided hostility. The battle began with skirmishing concerning vacant lodgings and chambermaids' situations, but soon soared to the usual high political controversy. The belligerent parties appear to have resided, while the paper-war raged, the queen at Windsor castle, and the angry duchess at the ranger's lodge, and occasionally at St. Albans. The following is the severest letter the queen ever ventured to address to her tyrant. It was an answer to a fierce epistle written by the duchess, in anticipation that Mrs. Masham meant to give away some menial situation in the palace which was in her gift:—

¹ Coxe MSS., vol. xlv. fol. 83; Brit. Museum.

² Pegge's *Anecdotes of Olden Time*, p. 316. He quotes the *Secret History of England*, vol. ii. p. 299, which receives some value from the sanction of a learned antiquary.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

“Windsor, Thursday noon, October,¹ 1709.

“I had written so long a letter to you yesterday (which I desired lord-treasurer [Godolphin] to send) when I received yours, that I could not then write more, or I should not have been so long answering it. You need not have been in such haste, for Rainsford² is pretty well again, and I hope will live a great while. If she should die, I will then turn my thoughts to consider who I know that I could like in that place, being a post that, next to my bedchamber woman, is the nearest to my person of any of my servants; and I believe nobody,—nay, even yourself, if you would judge impartially, could think it unreasonable that I should take one in a place so near my person that were agreeable to me.

“I know this place is reckoned under your office, but there is no *office* whatsoever that has the entire disposal of anything under them, but I may put in any one I please when I have a mind to it. And now you mention the duke of Somerset again, I cannot help on this occasion saying, that whenever he recommends anybody to me, he *never* says ‘it is his right,’ but he submits to my determination.”

This submission was from a prince of the blood,—the “proud duke of Somerset,” and very dexterously is the arrogant *parvenue* reminded by the queen that she had lately interfered with some appointments pertaining to the office of this very duke, that of master of the horse:—

“He has done so upon occasions in which *you* have recommended people to *me* in posts under *him*. But I do not say this that you should think I hearken to everybody’s recommendation, which, indeed, I do not, and will not. As for the person³ you are so mightily afraid should put any one into Rainsford’s place, I dare say she will not go about recommending anybody. If this poor creature should die (which, as I said before, I hope she will not), I shall then hearken to no one’s recommendation but my own, which I am sure you ought not to think any wrong or injustice to *you*.

“I have not yet so perfect an account of Somerset house as I would have, which is the reason I have not said anything concerning poor Mrs. Howe; but I shall be able, in a few days, to let you know what lodgings she can have. I am ashamed to send you such a blottish scrawl; but it is so late that I cannot stay to write it over again.”

The bellicose duchess annexed a paper to the above letter, on which was written, “The queen’s letters, when Mrs.

¹ MS. letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum. The date of the month is absent, but the duchess has endorsed it as in answer to one of hers, of October 26, 1709.

² The person in the menial office, whose expected demise had caused the duchess to make an attack on the queen, lest the place, which was about the royal bed or sleeping-room, should not be of her own appointing.

³ Mrs. Masham.

Masham designed to give her favorite a place in my office, who had been my nursery-maid; but she was useful to Mrs. Masham, and often went on messages, and was in private with the queen." She likewise endorsed the royal epistle with these words:—"This is a very odd letter, and a very extraordinary thing to make *her* excuse to me for writing a very fine hand. It would have been much more *excusable* to have been ashamed of the change in her style." There certainly was a change in the style, which is clear, terse, and temperate; the construction bears powerfully on the sense which it is the writer's intention to convey; in all these points, it is the direct reverse of Anne's usual correspondence, both before and after this period. Mrs. Masham had doubtless assisted the queen in the composition; the duchess, when she had recovered her first consternation at the tone of command conveyed by the royal missive, evidently thought the same. After due cogitation, her grace's state of wrath became of the requisite height of tempera-
ture to impel an inbreak on the royal seclusion at Windsor castle. When there, she made a general survey of the proceedings in every department of "her office," in order to furnish herself with a sufficient case of grievances; this done, she swooped down on offending majesty, breathing vengeance for a very small infraction of "her rights!" "All the storm was raised," according to Mrs. Danvers (when describing¹ the furious scene which she witnessed, being that day lady in waiting), "merely because the queen allowed a bottle of wine every day to a sick servant in her laundry, without having previously asked leave of the duchess." Mrs. Abrahall was the person, according to the duchess of Marlborough's own assertion, when giving her version of the quarrel; indeed, the name of this poor woman haunts the duchess of Marlborough's letters, without her offences being intelligibly defined. She is the same person previously named as one "that had washed the queen's Brussels-lace heads for twenty years."

On the very slight ground of ostensible dispute that her

¹ To lord Dartmouth, the queen's lord privy-seal after the dismissal of lord Sunderland. Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. v. p. 445.

majesty's charity to Mrs. Abrahah afforded, the queen received a more than usual share of the duchess's vituperation, the tone of which was so loud and shrill that the footmen at the bottom of the back-stairs could hear the whole of her harangue. The queen rose to quit the room, but the duchess intercepted her, and, rushing between majesty and the only means of egress, set her back to the door, and informed her royal mistress "that she should hear her out, for that was the least favor she could do her *for having set the crown on her head, and kept it there.*" Her grace was then pleased to rage for one hour before any symptoms were apparent to the queen of the hurricane being lulled. At last Sarah finished, with the information that "she did not care if she never saw her majesty again." The queen replied, calmly, "that she thought, indeed, the seldomer the better." Upon which, the duchess flounced out of the royal presence.¹ "There is one thing more," says the duchess's version of the fray, "that I had occasion to speak of to the queen, and that is in relation to Mrs. Abrahah, who, by means of Mrs. Masham, had an order from the queen to have the allowance of her place raised (which there was no apparent reason for), without any mention being made to *me*, though she had been a servant of mine, and *I* had given her the place. The secret of the matter was, that this woman had served Mrs. Masham when she lay-in, and could not attend the queen herself, to carry messages to her majesty. This was no reason with *me* to pass over so crude and irregular a thing, which I remember my lord Godolphin was so shocked at that he delayed executing it till he had represented to her majesty the unfitness of such a proceeding; and though the queen could allege nothing for it, she positively commanded him to sign the order." Majesty was at a low ebb in England in 1709, when a queen-regnant could not order a small benefaction to a superannuated and sick laundress, who had served her for thirty years, without receiving lectures from a prime-minister.

The duchess then proceeds to give her own account of

¹ Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. v. p. 445.

the scene, which has been related from the evidence of the lady in waiting, Mrs. Danvers. "I took an occasion to speak to the queen of Mrs. Abrahah's matter. I told her majesty that this was a thing contrary to her own rules, and the practice of all the courts she ever knew, and that it was a maxim with all gentlemen not to interfere in one another's business; and that Mrs. Masham might have better intermeddled in the archbishop of Canterbury's affairs, or the lord chancellor's office, than in mine."¹ This was undoubted truth, but the queen denied "that Mrs. Masham had anything to do with it, for it was her own wish to reward and comfort her sick servant." Having fairly tried her powers of utterance, the duchess again flew to her pen. The epistle that succeeded this notable interview has not been preserved, but the queen, in her reply, used the words, that "she prayed God to open her eyes." There exist several varied editions among the Marlborough papers of the answer to her majesty, being compositions which the angry dame had tried before she pleased herself. The queen seems finally to have received the following letter, which varies from the printed copy in 'many respects; among others, the old familiar term, "Mrs. Morley," is changed to "majesty:"—

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.²

"I am very thankful to your majesty for your letter, and for the profession at the end of it, which deserves more acknowledgments than I am capable of paying; and if you shall dislike anything that I am going to say in answer to it, I hope you will continue to forgive me, for since I write to you only as a friend, it is impossible for me to say the least word that I don't think. You are pleased to say, 'you doubt not I wondered very much that you were so long without taking notice of my last letter;' indeed, I was in hopes either to have heard from you sooner, or that, since you took so much time about it, you would have given a more particular answer to several things that I mentioned, and especially that you would have convinced me that I was in the wrong as to what I said of Abigail's power; but since you passed that quite over, I cannot help renewing my request, that you will explain this matter a little more at large, and, without troubling yourself to write a very long answer to this, will please only to tell me what it is that can prevail with you to oppose the advice of your ministers and

¹ Coxe MSS., duchess of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Hutchinson; Brit. Museum.

² Coxe's Papers, vol. xlv. fol. 201 ad finem.

council, if it be not this pernicious woman, and those that apply to you by her? What is all this *strangling* [struggling] about, to form an insignificant party, but only to support her? And who are those that you told me you had somewhere, but a few inconsiderable men, that have undertaken to carry her up to a pitch of greatness, from which she would be thrown down with infamy in a fortnight? What did some people in your service ride lately about from her to Mr. Harley at London, and thence to Mr. St. John's in the country, and then back again to her, and so again to London, as if they *rid* post all the while, but about some notable scheme, which I dare swear would make the world very merry if it were known? And I can't help taking notice that it was much about the time that lord Haversham was introduced to you; so that, perhaps, he is an undertaker in this fine work, whom you yourself have so often heard revile your government in the house of lords. But it looks as if nobody were too infamous to be countenanced, that would but apply to the great new favorite, to whom his lordship would have gone directly from you, but that he unfortunately mistook the room.¹ I can't imagine what your majesty means *by your six years' experience of my ill opinion of you*,² unless it be that I have had the misfortune to differ in opinion; which I must own I have very much, for I did always think just as I do now,—that those who persecuted you when princess, were very unfit to serve you when you were queen, and that you might much more safely rely on men that were really for the church and present government, than on others who only pretend to be for one, and are certainly against the other. And this was all we differed about for a great while, that I remember; though *now*, indeed, we differ about another thing, which is, that I certainly think you are influenced by Abigail to do things that are directly against your interest, quiet, and safety. And you seem to think there is nothing of all this; therefore I will tell you, very plainly, why I think so at present, and what it is that would make me think otherwise. I think the first, because I find every day that you do not follow the advice of lord Marlborough and lord treasurer as you used to do, and I do not think, even now, that any men have more credit with you than they have; therefore who can it be but that woman?³ for you see nobody else. And to show you that I am not alone of this opinion, if I should ask the first ordinary man that I met what had caused so great a change in you, he would answer me, 'twas because you were grown fond of Mrs. Masham, and were governed by her, and by those that govern her; and, because you 'pray to God to open my eyes,' I will tell you how you may do that yourself, which is, by living with your old friends, as you used to do, and hearken to the advice of your faithful ministers and council, for this will open *my* eyes and everybody's else. And, indeed, I can't help advising you either to change your ministers quite, or to get another general and treasurer;

¹ "And went to Mrs. Cowper," according to the printed copies, which differ essentially from the MSS.

² Not in any other printed copy. The passage is of the more importance, since it is a dark hint, confirmatory of the story already related, that, in 1700 or 1701, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, Anne accidentally overheard lady Marlborough mentioning her with loathing contempt. It is at the same time evidently inexplicable to the Marlborough duchess, who dreamed not of the gloves, but referred all to political differences.

³ Abigail Masham.

and so to let her and her creatures govern all as long as they can, or else to be directed by those in your chief employments, and convince the world that Abigail has no more to do than another bedchamber woman. And this I cannot but think would be a wiser resolution than the pursuing any project she can put you upon, especially that of dividing the whigs, which you may easily apprehend would be very dangerous, since *lord M.*¹ (who was never violent that way) is so absolutely against it; but Mr. Harley likes it, as the best means of giving him another opportunity to do mischief, and your majesty a happy occasion of owning his handmaid, Abigail, and of bringing all the worthless men of the kingdom into your service. And I can't but take notice upon this occasion, what opposition was made by those people to the getting a flag for this very man who has done so much service in the West Indies, for no other reason, that I could ever learn, but that he was then known to be the most deserving man of his time in the navy.

"I had almost forgot to tell you of a new book that is come out. The subject is ridiculous, and the book not well wrote at all; but I think that looks so much the worse, for it shows that the notion is universally spread among all sorts of people. It is a dialogue between madame Maintenon and *madame Masham*, in which she thanks her for her good endeavors to serve the king of France here, and seems to have great hopes of her, from her promising beginnings and her friendship for Mr. Harley; and there is stuff not fit to be mentioned, and a long account of that lady's famous amour with Mr. Chudd, managed by lady Newport. Some part of that I knew to be true; but I will not trouble you longer upon so disagreeable a subject. The woman that has been put upon writing it, and the printer, have been in custody, and are now under prosecution.² It has appeared that she kept correspondence with two of the favorite persons in the book,—my lord Peterborough and Mr. Harley; and I think it is to be suspected that she may have had some dealings with Mrs. Masham, who is called *Hillaria*.³ She says, '*that she [Abigail] loved and understood letters, introduced, nay, applauded the ingenious, and did ever endeavor to make them taste the royal bounty.*' This is in the book. The favorite characters are your majesty, Mrs. Masham, my lord Peterborough, and Mr. Harley. Speaking of her, it begins thus: '*She had a soul fitted for grandeur, a capacious repository for royal favor, happy in a mistress deserving such a favorite, her mistress in a favorite deserving to be such.*' I think in this part she is made to take the place of your majesty, and then it goes on, '*That don something (who is Mr. Harley) made his applications with assiduity to Mrs. Masham, arising from the awful esteem he had of her thousand virtues. She could not be ungrateful (no, poor soul, not she!); her fine sense did the don (who is Mr. Harley) justice; from mutual admiration they grew to mutual esteem and confidence,*'—and your majesty, who

¹ The duke of Marlborough; she often so calls him.

² Her name was Manley. The jury refused to punish her, the defence being, "a wonder how the great general and his duchess could insist that the detail of such fictitious adventures of mere romance pertained, in any way, to their own illustrious and virtuous career."

³ From her name of Hill, as Abigail would not have suited the nomenclature of romance.

is called the royal Olympia, '*permitted them to have a share in the sweets of her appropriated hours !*'

"Now, since the people who desire to support your government find, by woful experience, that delays every day happen in things of the greatest consequence, that this lady is your favorite, and that the Tories, in such simple books as they get written and published, proclaim this great favorite to all the world, I hope you will no longer think it a crime in me what you have formerly imputed for one,—that I believed your majesty allowed her great liberties, or think that *I* was the only person that discerned the private way of conversing with Mrs. Masham, since all that matter is now in print, and, notwithstanding *our prosecution*, I suppose sold in every shop."

To this extraordinary epistle and gratuitous review on a new novel, which the royal Anne had never read, is appended an endorsement by the duchess:—"On a strange book, wrote to compliment Abigail, in 1708 or 1709;" to which is added, "I wrote this to the queen, hoping it would do good, when she would not own that she had any commerce with Mrs. Masham but as a bedchamber woman." An interview succeeded this letter; the queen's manner was greatly changed. According to the duchess of Marlborough's description to Maynwaring,¹ her majesty told her "with such an air, that she had friends."—"Then," adds the duchess's satellite, without perceiving the natural inference of his words, "*they* can be none but the duke of Marlborough's sworn enemies. I should think the expression ought to alarm him and the lord treasurer; therefore, for God's sake, madame, when you go to Windsor, pay that most necessary duty of disturbing her quiet possession of Abigail." In the mocking comments of Maynwaring, it appears that the poor queen, in reply to the tauntings of the duchess, had exclaimed, "Sure, I may love whoever I please!"—a permission the duchess was far from suffering to be taken as granted. Anne's imprudent boast of her friends, whom she named not, alluded to the secret council for her defence, which Harley had convened about the same time.² Taciturn as the queen was, the taunts of the irate duchess extracted this vaunt from her usually sealed lips, and well was it remembered that the same expression

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 263.

² A passage which identifies the truth of Swift's tract of secret history before quoted.

had been used by her in one of the last angry interviews she had with her sister, queen Mary; the consequences of which interview were, that she did her best, by the aid of the unnamed friends (then the Marlboroughs and their clique), to overturn the throne of her sister and her spouse. Therefore, when queen Anne, "with such an air," spoke of "having friends," the Marlboroughs could construe her words by the results of former facts.

The duchess, meantime, among her partisans freely boasted of the hatred she felt for her majesty; Maynwaring, in his letters, alludes to it repeatedly, not only in regard to present anger, but that she had, by her own showing, always detested her.¹ He says:—"Since you have lost nothing but her *passion*, which it is plain you never cared for, and since the cause of your falling out is removed, she being entirely in the hands you would have put her in from the first, I think whenever *she* [the queen] shall have owned herself to be in the wrong in her late actions (which she ought to do), you should then for the future live with her like a friend and good acquaintance, always remembering to give yourself high and just airs on the subject of politics. And then, for that noble treasure, her heart, I would tell her, 'that since she has given it to so worthy an object as fair-faced Abigail, I would never think of regaining it;' and if you would see her pretty often in this jocose manner (which you could perform rarely if you pleased), it would give your friends infinite satisfaction; and I should not at all despair, when the whig party is well settled and *reunited*, to see what you mentioned performed, of sending the sweet soul [Abigail Masham] and her husband to a government, quite to discourage the tories, and keep them down forever. You say the queen would so hate all those that contributed to this, and particularly the Freemans, that there would be no living with her after it with any satisfaction. I have heard others, and even yourself, say, that she would forget her dear charms in a month." This code of directions concludes with the proposal "to write books, as himself and

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 264.

the duchess had done before the last election, to prove that all tories were Frenchmen, and must never rise again. The right bottom of almost everybody," pursues this most righteous statist, "is *their interest*; and there was never such a bottom as these ministers have to stand on,—a strong, industrious, able, and well-intentioned party,¹ that no one can ever get between them and the queen. And if you do not like to be at the head of this party, as you naturally should be, what do you think of resigning your place to my lady Orkney? Do you think she could be prevailed upon to take it?" Thus, there were divisions among the ministry, who were split into parties among themselves. Godolphin was probably the cause of the disunion, and if Dr. Sacheverel had not made the grand mistake of attacking him instead of the more bitter opponents of the church, that disunion might have led to remarkable results.

It was the duchess of Somerset who succeeded the duchess of Marlborough in the queen's favor, and subsequently in her office of mistress of the robes. She had, in the preceding reign, been the friend of Anne, and, in the midst of her disgrace with queen Mary II., had even assumed the character of her protectress. Mrs. Danvers, who had been one of the ladies of the queen's mother, and had served her majesty from her infancy, told lord Dartmouth, "that she could not wonder at the favor of the duchess of Somerset, who, like the queen, was one of the best-bred ladies in the world; but she had always been surprised at the queen's attachment to the duchess of Marlborough, who was the very reverse of the queen in manners and disposition."² In consequence of this intimacy, the duchess of Somerset, in one of her letters of 1709, thus mentions the state of the queen:—

DUCHESS OF SOMERSET TO THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE,³ 1709.

"I can so little forgive myself the not acknowledging the favor of your letter from Chatsworth, that I can hardly hope for your pardon, though I can

¹ Evidently Somers, Wharton, and Mohun, with whom the duchess's son-in-law, Sunderland, an avowed enemy to revealed religion, was closely allied.

² Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, p. 32, vol. vi.

³ Devonshire Papers, copied by permission of his grace the duke of Devonshire.

with great truth say, that you have not a more faithful servant than I am, or one that values your friendship more than I do. I told the queen when I received your first letter, and she then commanded me to give you thanks for inquiring after her; and as soon as I had yours this morning, I told her 'you would have come yourself, if you had been able.' The queen then *bid* me tell you 'she was glad to hear you were come safe to London; and that, after so great a journey, 'twas soe necessary for you to rest, that she would not have you think of coming hither [probably to Windsor], but thanks you for inquiring after her.' She is still very lame, but is well in health, and went yeste day to take the air in her coach, and will do so every day when the weather is good."

In the second year of the whig government, the queen had been forced by her ministers into the precedent established by her predecessors, William and Mary, of silencing the convocation.¹ The grievances connected with this measure burst into the popular flame which attended the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, one of the orators of the *lower* house of convocation. Dr. Sacheverel sprang from an old Norman family, whose name occurs on the Battle abbey roll. He had inherited the courage and grandeur of person that generally distinguish the lines of the *nobiles minores* in England. His name, like most of those of old county families, was found among the partisans of both roundhead and cavalier. He has been reproached for the misdeeds of both, but it seems that his father was a stanch loyalist. All historians who wrote in the last century concur in representing Sacheverel as a person of the meanest capacity, and their universal chorus has been echoed by their fraternity since. It is not a common case to find paucity of ability in any individual who has started from the conventionalities of private life to become the leader of a people. Question principles and motives, if it so please the objector, abilities speak for themselves. One case is a clear one; Sacheverel was no pen-orator, or author, but he possessed the mightier gift of eloquence, and he did with his hearers whatsoever he chose. He chose, or it fell in the course of his duty, to preach a sermon at St. Paul's cathedral, of all days in the calendar on the far-famed fifth of November,

¹ Somerville, *Reign of Anne*, p. 124, for the fact. Somerville has not gone deeper into the causes of the animosity between the two houses of convocation than the surface presented.

anno 1709. It was considered the bounden duty of the preacher of St. Paul's to celebrate the two deliverances from popery,—one from “gunpowder, treason, and plot;” the other, the landing of William of Orange, which had occurred on the anniversary, 1688. Likewise, a progressive glance was expected to be thrown on “queen Bess's day,” as the 17th of November, queen Elizabeth's accession-day, was called by apprentices, who usually burnt in effigy, near her statue on St. Dunstan's church, Temple bar, all the political bugbears indicated to them by the dominant whigs, who put themselves to considerable expense at Monmouth street to provide toilets for the obnoxious effigies, not only of the pope, pretender, and their Satanic colleagues, but nearly forty well-dressed opponents of low church.

Sacheverel celebrated all these events so as to make the very walls of the new cathedral ring. When he mentioned “queen Bess's day,” he told all the evil he knew of Elizabeth, and none of the good, which was not fair. He said little of the first deliverance from popery, but a great deal regarding the last; and, without knowing a quarter of their treachery and corruption, he told some alarming truths of the leaders of the Revolution; lord Godolphin he especially castigated under the name of Volpone. His sermon lasted three hours,—a moderate share of “spiritual provender,” as “douce Davy Deans” would have said; yet no one among his crowded audience was tired, and, what was more singular, this oration of the polemic-politic class, although it unsaid and contradicted what all other polemic politicians had said, was received by the people with intense satisfaction. Lord Godolphin, against whom it was particularly aimed, flew to the queen, and, in an agony of rage and passion, claimed the character of Volpone as his own, in which he behaved far more like a goose than a fox. He called down the vengeance of the crown on the daring churchman, and told the queen that in the contempt with which the revolutionists were mentioned her majesty shared; then her angry treasurer recalled to the royal memory some passages which, perhaps, Anne was doing her best to forget. The queen had, however, been men-

tioned in the orator's most florid terms of affectionate admiration, which had their due effect with all his hearers who could not draw inferences.

The result was, that Dr. Sacheverel was imprisoned, and had to prepare for impeachment at the ensuing session of parliament. The consequences, in case of his condemnation, were those to which death seems a trifle,—the lash, the pillory, loss of ears, imprisonment for life; such had been dealt out to several Englishmen, even in the “golden days of our queen Anne,”¹ not for reviling queen, or church, but for libelling any of the members of parliament. A clergyman had been condemned to this horrid fate the first year of Anne's reign, for having published a pamphlet on some of the duke of Marlborough's deeds; but the queen, on due consideration, pardoned him,—the duchess says “at her intercession;” if so, the duchess took the wisest part, considering the temper of the times. Directly the queen consented to the incarceration of the champion of high church, all London rose *en masse* against the Godolphin administration. Vast mobs paraded the streets,—intimations having been given them that the heart of the queen yearned towards the church of England, as she had received it in her youth. The streets and courts round St. James's rang with the cries of “God save the queen and Dr. Sacheverel!” “Queen and high church!” The queen, and every one inclined to peace, blamed lord Godolphin for his hasty petulance in taking upon himself the cognomen of Volpone. Dr. Sacheverel's sermon was published—certainly not as it was spoken, for the printed copy is an involved, double-minded composition, remarkable for nothing but dulness. People began to look at one another, and wonder what lord Godolphin could mean. The *literati* greatly despised the style and want of power; but those who had heard the words of fire which still tingled in their ears, did not abate one jot of their enthusiasm for the orator.

¹ The author of Robinson Crusoe (Defoe) lost his ears, and stood thrice in the pillory, in this reign. Edmund Curl likewise lost, first one ear, then the other; and thirdly, the remnants of them. In short, it was not fashionable for political authors or their booksellers to possess any ears; but wigs were mighty convenient.

The following verses were left on the queen's toilet. They are the only readable compositions out of many on the subject, and probably had considerable influence on the queen :—

“O Anna! see the prelude is begun;
 Again they play the game of forty-one,
 And he's the traitor that defends the throne.
 Thus Laud, and thus thy royal grandsire died,
 Impeached by clamors, and by faction tried.
 Hoadley's cried up, who dares thy right oppose,
 Because he crowns the whigs and arms thy foes.
 O stop the dire proceedings ere too late,
 And see thy own in poor Sacheverel's fate.
 Fatal experience bids thee now be wise;
 At him they strike, but thou'rt the sacrifice,—
 Let *one* blest martyr of thy race suffice!¹

In the midst of these stormy preludes for political contest, queen Anne returned from the seclusion of her widowhood to the public exercise of her regal functions by opening her parliament in person, which she did in great state, November 15, 1709. Maynwaring, the satellite of the duchess of Marlborough, thus describes the royal manner on this occasion :—“The queen's speech was very well *cited*, but it was observed that she spoke in a much fainter voice than she used to have, and her manner was more careless and less moving than it has been on other occasions.” Perhaps the queen's heart fainted within her at the necessity of obeying the orders of her ministry, by announcing the utter failure of the negotiations for the pacification of Europe, on which her wishes were ever fixed.

As a strong counter-party to the united Marlborough and Somers branches of the whig ministry was now organized in the queen's behalf, her majesty did not fail to pay court to those powerful nobles whose private inclinations she thought might lead them to support the remnant of the regal power. The ducal magnates of Somerset and Devonshire were among these. Her majesty addressed a holograph note to the young duke of Devonshire,² as a mark of

¹ Popular MS. State-Poems, originally collected for Robert earl of Oxford; Brit. Museum, Lansdowne Papers, 852, p. 54.

² William, second duke of Devonshire, who had succeeded to his father little

her confidence and private friendship; it is endorsed as being received in 1709, and, in the absence of all other date excepting the word "*teusday*," it may probably be referred to this epoch, when all England was watching the result of the impending trial of Sacheverel. There is the more likelihood in this surmise, as the name of Nelson (since so glorious in war), when mentioned in the course of this erudite royal billet, was remarkable as pertaining to a celebrated controversial author, one of the leaders of the reformed Catholic church of England. Robert Nelson was, like Sancroft and Ken, a nonjuror. The queen, perhaps, refers to some provision for him. The duchess of Devonshire, mother to the young duke, was a lady of the cavalier house of Ormonde, and held communion with the clergy of Nelson's principles.

LETTER OF QUEEN ANNE. (Holograph.)

[See fac-simile.]

"teusday.

"I wish you could *deffer* saying anything to my ^{l^d} Gallway ¹ *this post concerning* Mr Nelson, *becaus* I forgot to speake to ^{l^d} treasure ² on y^t [that] subject last night, and have not now time to *writt* to him. I desire when you have copy^d y^e [the] enclosed wth your own hand, you would burn it.

"I am, your very affectionett freind,

"ANNE, R."

Whatsoever became of "the enclosed," the royal letter, although somewhat scorched, has been very carefully preserved, but without any enclosure, until the present hour, when it was copied, by special permission, from the collection of his grace the duke of Devonshire. It is endorsed, in a hand of the same era, "*From the queen, Aug. 9, 1709.*" The fac-simile of this note presents a specimen of queen Anne's genuine mode of writing, before her epistles were corrected and copied out fair by her confidante and favorite for the time being.

more than a year, August, 1707. His mother was lady Mary Butler, daughter to the great duke of Ormonde.

¹ Lord Galway, one of William III.'s foreign officers, lived in retirement since the loss of the unsuccessful battle of Almanza, where he lost his right hand. Large packets of his letters, written with his left hand, are among the Devonshire Papers.

² By ^{l^d} treasure, the queen means her lord treasurer, Godolphin.

Tuesday

I wish you could defer saying any thing
to my Ld Galtway this prob. Concerning Mr.
Nelson, because I forgot to speak to Ld Grosvenor
on y^e subject last night, & have not now time
to write to him, I desire you ~~should~~ copy it
enclosed in your own hand, you would burn it,

I am your very affectionate friend

From the Queen Aug: 9
1809

MMH

The queen and the duchess of Marlborough had scarcely spoken since the series of stormy quarrels which had raged so loudly at Windsor castle in the autumn, and the irate dame felt all the uncomfortable sensations of one who has gone too far for her purposes. She seemed to have raised an insurmountable barrier against further colloquies of any description taking place between her royal mistress and herself, excepting on formal official occasions. With this conviction, the loud-scoffing freethinker laid a scheme to efface the impression her violence and arrogance had made on Anne's mind, by an appeal to religious feeling, and the necessity of dismissing all resentment from memory before partaking of the holy sacrament at the Christmas festival. Accordingly she wrote the queen a long letter, in some passages extremely insolent, but finishing with a schooling lecture on the necessity of forgiveness of injuries before communication, according to the service in the Common Prayer. She likewise obliged the queen with a Prayer-book, interlined, and a copy of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, with the leaves marked and turned down of the passages by which her majesty's soul was to profit before partaking of the sacred rite. Her presumption in schooling her sovereign on the duties requisite for a worthy participation in the most solemn rite of the church, of which that sovereign was the ostensible head, is only less startling than the cool effrontery of a professed freethinker addressing exhortations on Christianity and Christian observances to any one. The whole movement is a striking instance that hypocrisy is by no means confined to those who profess belief in religion. All the fruit gained by the duchess of Marlborough's theological studies was, that, as the queen passed to the altar of St. James's chapel to communicate, she gave her a gracious smile and nod; but as no friendly interview succeeded, the duchess observed "that the smile and nod were only meant for bishop Taylor and the Common Prayer-book."

The queen spent the month of January at Hampton Court, in deep consideration of the best means of breaking the chains in which the dominant faction held her. Some

warm indications of popular sympathy encouraged her project. The death of her lieutenant of the Tower, lord Essex,¹ which occurred January 10, 1709-10, brought her determinations to a climax, yet her task was difficult; "hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the Marlborough² family junta, she was at a loss how to proceed in her first steps towards emancipation." The lowliness of the messenger she made use of at this crisis proves how closely she was locked round from communication with any fitting agent. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. Harley, all dirty; the superscription, however, he saw was in the queen's own handwriting. In astonishment at the begrimed complexion of the royal missive, he sent for its bearer, who said "he knew not whence it came, but it was delivered to him by one of the under-laborers in Hampton Court gardens." The letter had assumed its soiled appearance while it remained in the paw of this uncouth but faithful bearer of a queen-regnant's despatches.

The contents of the communication were details of the difficulties with which the royal writer was surrounded; there was blame on her friend's timidity of speech and action, and, withal, direct demand of assistance. This remarkable epistle brought Harley again as the courtier of the back-stairs. He told her majesty of the danger to the church, and monarchy itself, from the conduct of some of her ministry; that it did not become her to be a slave to one family, but to dispose of vacancies in church or state as she deemed best. Her majesty, in pursuance of Harley's advice, made the first step towards breaking her bonds, by disposing of the lieutenancy of the Tower (vacant then by the decease of the earl of Essex) according to her own

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

² Swift's Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry.—Scott's Swift, vol. iii. p. 182. The fire with which this paper is written, contrasted with the vacuum and vapidness of Swift's ostensible history, "The Four Years of Queen Anne," is remarkable. In fact, he noted down, with all the free confidence of a pen detailing individual incidents, the events Harley told him. The foolish pedantry called "the dignity of history" prevented him from embodying these facts in his historical narrative. The real dignity of history is *truth*, whensoever attainable.

good pleasure. The earl of Rivers was the person whom the queen meant to invest with this great office. If the duchess of Marlborough is to be believed, the nobleman on whom fell her majesty's choice bore, in common parlance, the appellation of "Tyburn Dick,"¹ having, among the numerous transgressions of his youth, unrighteously escaped conviction at the criminal bar for robbing his own father on the highway. Various are the duchess's exclamations of rage and despair at the exaltation of Richard Savage, lord Rivers, in a manner so inconsistent with his youthful cognomen of "Tyburn Dick." The method pursued by queen Anne for inducting the said "Dick" into the Tower government, is not the least curious passage in the annals of her times, and proves that either her majesty or her advisers were able to turn to account the duke of Marlborough's habitual suavity, in making promises which meant nothing. Lord Rivers went to the duke of Marlborough, in his retirement at Windsor lodge, with the news "of the demise of lord Essex, the lieutenant of the Tower," adding "a request for his interest with the queen to bestow the vacant post on him." When "Tyburn Dick" preferred his request concerning the lieutenancy of the Tower, the duke of Marlborough loaded him with offers of kindness and affectionate protestations, but assured him "that the lieutenancy of the Tower was a place infinitely beneath his merit, and entreated him to think of something better." He of Tyburn, however, stuck to his first proposal with true English tenacity; he said, "he was going to ask the queen to appoint him to the Tower, and as the duke was so very obliging to him, he wanted to know whether he might tell the queen that his grace had no objection?" Marlborough, who had as much idea of the queen's giving away one of the crowns out of the jewel-house as the custody of the Tower without consulting him, told lord Rivers, "he might say so, if he pleased." On which his petitioner departed in a great hurry to the queen, with this permission.

The duke of Marlborough, in the course of the morning,

¹ Both in print and MS.

went leisurely to the queen's closet, to notify his pleasure to her majesty, "That the lieutenancy of the Tower falling void by the death of lord Essex, he hoped her majesty would bestow it on the duke of Northumberland (son to Charles II.). He had encountered "Tyburn Dick" bolting out of the royal presence with infinite glee, who, on seeing the duke, overwhelmed him with a torrent of very incomprehensible acknowledgments. The mystery was soon explained, when Marlborough entered on his code of instructions as to the Tower appointment. The queen was surprised at his change of intention, since she had just given the same to lord Rivers, according to his own wish; for that nobleman informed her, "on his honor, that the duke of Marlborough had no objection." The duke of Marlborough was at first mute with astonishment; he then broke into complaints, when the queen asked, seriously, "Whether earl Rivers had asserted what was not true?" The duke could not say that he had, for the words Rivers had extracted so dexterously from him had been too recently uttered, and the matter remained without redress.¹

Not only the lieutenancy of the Tower, but the colonelcy of the regiment lord Essex had commanded, was destined to become matter of contest between the queen and the Marlboroughs. A most violent paper-war ensued between the queen and the Marlboroughs, duke and duchess, on her majesty's determination of giving the regiment to Abigail's once ragged brother, Jack Hill. This attempt produced the first serious rupture with her majesty and lord Godolphin. He left the palace in anger, and retreated to the Lodge at Windsor, the seat of the Marlboroughs, January 15th. It was council-day, but the queen neither asked where her lord treasurer was, nor took the least notice of his absence.² Such was the sure indication of a previous contention between Anne and her prime-minister, the particulars of which have not come to light. Great agitation ensued, and many remonstrances were made to the queen by the no-

¹ Scott's Swift, vol. iii. pp. 183, 184.—Memoirs of Queen's Ministry.

² Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 250.

bility of his party on the value of Godolphin's services; her majesty acknowledged them in many gracious words. Finally Anne became intimidated, for in the course of five days she sent for Godolphin, and requested him to write to the duke of Marlborough "that he might give the regiment to whomsoever he pleased." Although her majesty yielded the point in dispute, she only bided her time for retaliation, as Godolphin felt a few weeks afterwards.

The approaching trial of Dr. Sacheverel brought the contentions into which the queen's household and ministry were divided to a determined crisis; the queen, who had until then striven to balance the inimical factions, openly took part with high church and Sacheverel. After the clerical champion had been committed to prison on the impeachment of the commons, the whig lords held daily cabinet consultations on the best mode of crushing him under the weight of the oligarchical power. At the same time her majesty every day gave audience to her peers in her closet at St. James's; one by one they were admitted to conferences with her, the tenor of which is preserved by the historian, Alexander Cunningham, tutor to the great duke of Argyle, one of the partisans for her support. Her majesty understood, "that the victorious army commanded by the duke of Marlborough were getting up a petition, in order to place him in a life-long command."¹ Alarmed at this resemblance to the proceedings of Oliver Cromwell, the queen made it a personal request to her peers, "That they would be mindful of their duty to her, and neither agree to any petition from the army which the duke of Marlborough should present to parliament, nor suffer Mrs. Masham to be taken from her." And as the peers severally departed out of the royal cabinet, queen Anne thus earnestly addressed each of them:—"If ever any recommendation of mine was of weight with you, as I know many of them have been, I desire this may be especially regarded." Many of the peers, in answer to her majesty, replied, "That they knew not of any such matter [regarding the army] as her majesty had intimated; but they were prepared to behave

¹ Hist. of Great Britain, book xii. p. 279; by Cunningham.

themselves in parliament as became their duty."¹ Such reply proceeded from those of her nobles who were either neutral or belonged to the whig faction, for the queen was supported and urged on by a large body of the nobility, among whom might be reckoned the most influential of the Scottish peerage. The inimical houses of Hamilton, Argyle, Marr, and Gordon, enraged at being excluded from the privileges of their English peerages, united together (whatsoever were their differences of creed with each other and with the church of England) to defend the queen against the encroaching family faction. The Jacobite and tory nobility of England, many of whom—as the semi-royal houses of Rutland, Beaufort, and Aylesbury—had kept themselves aloof from the revolutionary court, now threw their influences into the popular scale.

Marlborough positively denied the matter charged against him,—namely, endeavoring to render himself perpetual military dictator by means of the army's petition to parliament; yet the queen well knew the startling proposal of making him general for life had been demanded of her by his own lips.² At an audience that the duke of Marlborough had with queen Anne, before he betook himself to his campaign in the commencement of the year 1710, he asked as a favor "that her majesty would permit his wife to remain in the country as much as possible; and that she would be pleased to accept of her resignation in favor of her daughters, when the peace was made."³ The queen granted the first request, which relieved her of the presence of her tyrant, with such willingness that the second was taken for granted. The queen soon after received a visit from the duchess, who endeavored to clinch this ex-

¹ Hist. of Great Britain, book xii. p. 279; by Cunningham. This scene illustrates an obsolete custom of royalty, which was greatly objected to when practised by the Stuart sovereigns before the Revolution, under the epithet of *closeting*.

² Among the collections of Hume, the historian, is a very important one relative to the intended deposition of the queen by the whigs, by means of Marlborough's army.—Hume's Life, vol. xi.

³ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 296; February 10, 1710.

Westminster Abbey

PHOTOGRAVURE

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torted admission by returning florid thanks for the advancement of her family. According to her custom when aught was proposed contrary to her inclination, queen Anne observed a dogged silence, with a drooping mouth and a sullen brow. The fiery duchess demanded whether the duke of Marlborough had misunderstood her majesty's meaning? "I desire that I may never more be troubled on the subject," was the reply of her majesty, in a peremptory tone.

The confusion and divisions which prevailed at the queen's cabinet councils, owing to the distrust of her ministers at this crisis, are thus sketched from the description of Godolphin. "The queen gives no answer to her lord treasurer's representations. She says 'she will send for Somers; she wonders the lords should persuade the duke of Marlborough to return.' The duchess sent a copy of the duke's letter to Godolphin, which she desires him to show to lord Sunderland. Godolphin answered that he had spoken her majesty on the places of the duchess's daughters, but "that the queen only made him a bow, but gave him not one word of answer." He further wrote, "that the queen told Somers, 'that she would send for him, and let him know her mind;' but that would not be until she had talked with Abigail. . . . After such a description," he adds, "you will wonder with me why these should think it reasonable for lord Marlborough to come. If he does, I shall wish he had never proceeded in this manner,—never to the queen alone, but had gone to council in a cold, formal way, and declared 'to the world' how he was used; 'that he served only till the war was ended, because he did not think it reasonable to let a chambermaid disappoint all he had done.'"¹

All parties now made themselves ready for the approaching struggle, in which the question of triumph or defeat was to be decided by the fate of Sacheverel, whose trial was to take place in Westminster hall, after the duke of Marlborough had departed for Flanders.

¹ Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER IX.

Cries of the populace to the queen at Sacheverel's trial—Proceedings of the queen and her ladies in her curtained box—Queen's momentary alarm at the riots—Sends her guards to suppress them—Her servants found rioting—Her discussion with the duchess of Marlborough—Resolutions of the queen on the defeat of the family junta—Queen informed of the duchess of Marlborough's contempt—Remarkable interview between them—Queen writes to lord Godolphin—She dismisses lord Sunderland—Queen receives homage from North American Sachems—Threats of the duchess of Marlborough to print the queen's letters—Queen demands the return of all her letters—Receives a tantalizing answer—Queen's letter to lord Godolphin—Queen finally dismisses him—Her dialogue with a menial spy—Queen places the office of premier in commission—She is warned by the Marlboroughs of a plot—She treats it contemptuously—Bishop Burnet warns her of assassination—Queen plays on Burnet's propensity for gossip—Interview between the queen and lord-chancellor Cowper—Queen's remarks on her Scotch guards—Queen witnesses lord Nottingham's attack on her—Is beset by madmen—Duchess of Marlborough reviles and defies the queen—Queen's interview with the duke of Marlborough—He brings his wife's gold keys to the queen—Her final rupture with the duchess of Marlborough.

CRIES of "God bless your majesty and the church!" echoed from the vast crowds of the English populace who surrounded the sedan of queen Anne, as she was carried to Westminster hall to witness the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel. Those among the people who pressed nearest to the chair of the royal Anne added to their loyal shout the confiding exhortation of "We hope your majesty is for God and Dr. Sacheverel!"

A court had been prepared in Westminster hall for the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, exactly according to the arrangement of the house of lords, with seats for the peers in their due order and precedence. A box was erected near the throne for the queen, who chose to witness the trial *incog-*

nita. On one side of the hall, benches were erected for the members of the house of commons of Great Britain; on the other side, for peeresses and gentlewomen. A scaffold was raised for the managers of the house of commons who conducted the impeachment, among whom were distinguished the names of Coningsby, Robert Walpole, Spencer, Cowper, and several others not remarkable for attachment to any form of Christian worship, but into whose hands our church afterwards fell. A stage with benches below the bar was prepared for the prisoner and his counsel. Opposite to the whole scene were balconies and galleries for the populace. The ladies, it is reported, although they filled the places appointed for them in great crowds, were uneasy lest the 'Tatler' or 'Observer' should turn their dress or conduct into ridicule in their papers, for the amusement of the London breakfast-tables. Not one, however, who could gain admittance stayed away, for the opinion among them was very general, that the church was in great danger of ruin by the prosecution of Dr. Sacheverel.

Westminster hall, notwithstanding its vast extent, being, on the morning of February 27, 1709-10, full to overflowing, and a still greater crowd gathered close to the doors, the lord chancellor demanded of the peers "whether it was their pleasure that Dr. Sacheverel should be brought before them?" On their answering "Yes," Dr. Sacheverel came to the bar. The prisoner being asked whether he was ready to take his trial? he declared "his willingness to submit to the laws of the land, with greater boldness and confidence in his crimes than conscious innocence and ingenuity." Such are the words of an eye-witness,¹ from whose information the scene is described. What those "crimes" were, after every possible exaggeration that his enemies could make, the following articles will show. Four articles against him were read; they were absurdly inconsequential:—"That Dr. Sacheverel had publicly reflected on the late Revolution in very harsh terms, and suggested that the means used to bring it about were odious and unjustifiable. That he had cast scurrilous reflections upon those

¹ Cunningham's History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 290.

who defended liberty of conscience, and upon archbishop Grindal in particular, and had opposed toleration to dissenters, and had wrested various passages of holy writ to suit his purposes." But why this proceeding was more criminal in him than in the numerous sects of tolerated dissenters, who could not *all* be scripturally right, is an enigma. Surely, no great regard for the "liberty" of any kind of conscience could be found in the persons who framed these very strange articles. As to the offence given to archbishop Grindal, who was one of queen Elizabeth's prelates, the man had been dead more than a hundred years, and was therefore fair subject for historical disquisition. The above article of impeachment is the only instance since the days of queen Elizabeth¹ in which any person had been put in danger of prison, torture, and disgrace by public trial for historical comment on characters long deceased. The third article stated, "That he had seditiously suggested that the church of England was in peril under her majesty's administration." How the great assembly there convened could suppress risibility when the last article of accusation was recited, seems difficult to imagine:—"That the said Dr. Sacheverel had plainly called the lord high-treasurer [Godolphin] of this kingdom 'Volpone;' that he had applied opprobrious names to the rest of the state-ministers. He had, withal, termed many of those whom her majesty had advanced to high stations in the church false brethren."² In the last clause, the great preponderance that then existed of bishops and archbishops bred dissenters, who had forsaken their sects to receive preferment and emolument in the church, was indicated; but such were the facts, as the biographies of these dignitaries testify to this hour.

One truth is undeniable, which is, notwithstanding the torrent of abusive words with which Sacheverel is overwhelmed in history, if his character had not been stainless, his prosecutors would never have exhibited articles thus

¹ The curious dialogue between queen Elizabeth and Bacon on Dr. Hayward's Life of Richard II. will be remembered. The queen imprisoned the author, and proposed torture, but he was not brought to trial.

² Cunningham's History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 1, et seq.

replete with folly. Could they have proved against the champion of church and poor one clerical dereliction from the code of morality, they would have crushed him beneath it, and spurned him out of their political path. Perhaps the driest and most intolerable passage in all political domestic history is that called the "affair of Dr. Sacheverel." All old libraries in country halls are provided, among other literary nuisances pertaining to the last century, with two or three duplicate copies of duskily-bound tomes bearing the above title,—the paper, the vilest yellow-stained wire-wove; the print and orthographical arrangement ugly enough to be in unison with the dulness of the inexplicable contents. No person can open the book without perpetrating a succession of yawns; no person, excepting for the necessity of professional information, ever endured the reading of two pages of the narrative. It is the perversion and suppression of facts which render that, and all history of the same era, dismally fatiguing. Yet this overpowering *ennui* pertains to the narrative of an event so stirring that it convulsed the whole island, and rendered every man in England, particularly of the poorer class, an interested and almost agonized watcher over the fate of the victim whom the depressors of the church of England were haling to the parliamentary bar, for the purposes of condemnation to the pillory, to the lash, if not to death, in the most horrid form of personal degradation.¹

Sacheverel defended himself with spirit, fire, and a flow of magnificent eloquence. Although his orations undeniably proceeded from his lips, the composition was, never-

¹ The fate of Sacheverel, had he fallen into the power of the whigs, may be guessed by the following notation in the Life of Edward Calamy, vol. ii. p. 391, of the inflictions to which a high churchman, the Rev. Mr. Bisse, was sentenced, for seditious sermons and seditious words, November 27, 1718:—"He was sentenced by the King's bench to stand *twice* in the pillory, to be imprisoned *four* years, to find sureties for good behavior during life, and fined 600*l*." Those persons who wish to trace the reasons of the final submission of the reformed Catholic church to the will and pleasure of a man like sir Robert Walpole, will be able to collect from chronological records a sufficient number of frightful examples of this kind to account for the same. There were many clergymen who would have faced the scaffold and the stake unmoved, who shrank from the pillory.

theless, attributed to Simon Harcourt, his legal counsellor, or to any person but himself. There is only this small impediment to such appropriation, which is, that Harcourt did not at any subsequent time produce speeches in the same style. The truth is, Sacheverel was a mighty orator, but, like Wesley and Whitefield, had not equal powers of authorship; and the excellence of his discourses, whether speeches or sermons, solely depended on the skill of his reporter.

While these scenes were proceeding on the public arena of Westminster hall, another species of performance was in progress behind the curtained recess that contained the royal auditress and her attendants. The jealousies and policies that were fermenting in that little world of courtly intrigue are described by the pen of the duchess of Marlborough. The queen, as before observed, went *incognita* to the trial of Sacheverel. Her desire was to pass unknown, but her people recognized her in the manner which has been shown. "Her majesty," says the duchess of Marlborough, "when she arrived in the hall, entered the curtained box which had been prepared for her near the throne; she was accompanied by all her ladies who were on duty. Those in waiting the first day were, her near relative lady Hyde, lady Burlington, and lady Scarborough, with the duchess of Marlborough. The etiquette of court was for these ladies to stand, unless the queen gave them an express invitation to be seated."¹

The duchess of Marlborough was in some perplexity to account for the circumstance why the queen, with her usual urbanity, did not ask her ladies to sit. The queen had scarcely spoken to her since her last violent outbreak about the allowance to the sick laundress, and had just then closed a furious paper-war, regarding the resignation of the places held by the duchess to her daughters, by reiterating her former request "not to be further troubled."² The queen firmly denied any promise to make such places hereditary in the Marlborough family; the duchess strenu-

¹ Coxe MSS., duchess of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Hutchinson; British Museum.

² Ibid.

ously insisted that such a promise had been given her. Tormenting suspicions that she had gone too far visited the mind of the duchess, and she began to be jealous that the very ladies present, her colleagues in waiting, were eager expectants of the preferment which she meant to surrender only to her own daughters. She saw symptoms, or fancied them, that they paid unusual homage to her majesty, in hopes of gaining the spoils she had repeatedly threatened to resign. "After standing for two hours, I said to the vice-chamberlain," observes the duchess, "that when the queen went to any place *incognita*, as she came to this trial, and only looked behind a curtain, it was always the custom for the ladies to sit down before her; but her majesty had forgotten to speak to me now, and that as the trial was likely to continue very long every day, I wished he would put the queen in mind of it." The vice-chamberlain was certainly not aware that her majesty and the grand duchess were not on speaking terms, for he replied, "Why, madame, should you not speak to the queen yourself, who are always in waiting?"—"This," continues the duchess, "I knew was right; and therefore I went up to the queen, and stooping down to her, as she was sitting, to whisper to her, said, 'I believed her majesty had forgot to order us to sit, as was customary in such cases.' The queen looked as if she had indeed forgot, and was sorry for it; she answered in a very kind, easy manner, 'By all means; pray sit.' Before I could get a step from her chair, the queen called to Mr. Mordaunt, her page of honor, 'to give stools, and desire her ladies to sit down.'" Lady Hyde, assuming a manner as if the queen needed personal protection, advanced quite close to her royal mistress, with the evident determination of hearing what the duchess of Marlborough had to say to her. When Mr. Mordaunt had brought the stools, the duchess, as mistress of the robes, sat nearest to the queen; but as she was, from the stern manifestations of the populace against her party, on her very best behavior that day, she describes "that she sat at a respectful distance, and drew a curtain between majesty and herself," which she seemed to consider a most reverential device, "as it appeared

as if queen Anne was sitting in a different room from her ladies."¹ Such might be the case, but it likewise appeared as if her majesty was alone, and bereft of all attendance. Lady Hyde, when she found how the duchess proceeded, went and stood behind the royal chair, and there remained the whole time the queen stayed. Lady Hyde's conduct the duchess pronounced to be "an unwarrantable attempt to court favor with the queen, having the reversion of her places in view."

The queen came the next morning to witness the trial, and the duchess of Somerset entered the royal box for the same purpose, just before the duchess of Marlborough and the rest of the ladies established themselves comfortably on the tabourets, or plicants, that the queen had graciously ordered the preceding day. The duchess of Somerset had been recognized at the English court as a great lady of semi-royal rank, as heiress of the mighty name of Percy, one of the representatives of Charlemagne, at the time when Sarah of Marlborough occupied a station by no means commensurate with her present lofty assumption. The duchess of Somerset, although hated by her with no common share of jealous rage, had, besides her high rank, a degree of personal dignity which commanded deference from the spoiled favorite, who treated her royal benefactress with so much contumely. "Before I sat down," resumes the manuscript narrative,² "I turned to the duchess of Somerset, having always used to show her a great deal of respect. I asked 'If her grace would not please to sit?' At which the duchess of Somerset gave a sort of start back, with the appearance of surprise, as if some very strange thing had been proposed, and refused sitting."³ Upon this, duchess Sarah, without a word of remonstrance being added, commenced her defence, telling the duchess of Somerset "that it was always the custom to sit before the queen in such cases; that her majesty had ordered us to do so the day before, but that *her* refusing it now looked as if *she* thought we had done something that was not proper."⁴

¹ Coxe MSS., duchess of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Hutchinson; Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

Here was as promising a commencement of a quarrel as might be, if the duchess of Somerset had responded to the uncalled-for explanation. Her grace knew better what was due to her own high station and the royal presence; she merely said, "I do not care to sit," passed onwards, and took a station behind her majesty's chair, where she remained standing, as lady Hyde had done the preceding day, during the whole time the queen stayed in Westminster hall.¹

While this marked personal deference was thus paid to queen Anne by the greatest lady among her subjects, the belligerent power, duchess Sarah, whose violent instincts for a wrangle had been thus coolly suppressed by the Percy heiress, retired to her joint-stool by the side of the gentle co-heiress of the Cliffords, lady Burlington. Here her cogitations were of that species which, at any subsequent period, would have boded infraction of her majesty's peace, besides great damage to the auricular nerves of her ladies in waiting. As the duchess of Marlborough has favored us with the narrative of the thoughts which were fermenting while she there sat swelling, the detail of them cannot be justly attributed to any flight of fancy in queen Anne's dutiful biographer. "I took no further notice *then*, but sat down by lady Burlington as we did before. As I reflected on what these two ladies² had done, I plainly perceived that, in the duchess of Somerset especially, this could not be the effect of humility, but that it must be a stratagem they had formed, in their cabal, to flatter the queen by paying her *vast* respect, and to make some public noise of this matter that might be to my disadvantage, or disagreeable to me. And this I was the more confirmed in, because it had been known before that the duchess of Somerset (who, with her lord, was to act a cunning part between the whigs and tories) did not intend to come to the trial. As, therefore, it was my business to keep all things as quiet as possible till the campaign was over, and preserve myself in the

¹ Coxe MSS., duchess of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Hutchinson; Brit. Museum.

² The ladies were lady Hyde and the duchess of Somerset.

mean while, if I could, from any public affront, I resolved to do what I could to disappoint these ladies in their little design." The queen had scarcely leisure to attend to the heart-burnings and affront-taking of the mighty duchess that evening; other events of vital consequence claimed her attention.

The proceedings of the people, on that second afternoon of the Sacheverel trial, had, in fact, scared even those who were the most desirous of frightening his persecutors. At four o'clock in the afternoon of February 28th, the mob attacked Dr. Burgess's meeting-house, near Lincoln's Inn fields, and made a bonfire of the "sacred cushions and vessels," as Cunningham rather oddly calls some part of the paraphernalia, besides "pulpit, pews, benches, and sconces; and would have murdered the venerable old man himself, if some friend had not received him, and hid him, at past midnight." Other detachments of the populace demolished Earl's meeting-house in Long acre, Bradbury's in Shoe lane, Wright's in Blackfriars, and a meeting-house in Clerkenwell. When the rioters were busy in Clerkenwell, they tore down St. John's parochial chapel, out of detestation to bishop Burnet, who lived in that district; they made a desperate sally against his residence, with the full intention of putting him to death if they could have caught him.¹ While the meeting-houses were blazing, in a similar way to the Roman Catholic chapels in 1688 and 1780, the government took little heed of the riots; but when the populace began to bend their fury against "low church as by law established," and another mob beset the Bank of England, the earl of Sunderland rushed into the queen's presence with such an account of the proceedings of her loving lieges in behalf of "her majesty's high church and Dr.

¹ Cunningham's History of Great Britain, book xiii. p. 294. Burnet was, it seems, obnoxious to large masses of the poor: they considered that the new practices in the church of England, which they felt severely, were owing to him. Long after the death of queen Anne (consequently when his party was finally triumphant), he died an aged man. He was buried in the church nearest to his residence in Clerkenwell; yet, short as was its progress to the grave, his coffin went down to its resting-place strewn, not with flowers, but with mud, from the hands of the populace.—History of Clerkenwell.

Sacheverel," that the royal widow was seen to turn deadly pale, and was seized with a fit of visible tremor.

It was but for a short period that Anne suffered from fear; she recovered her courage, and bade her hated secretary of state "send her foot and horse guards forthwith, and disperse the rioters." Accordingly, captain Horsey, who was then on duty at St. James's, was summoned into the presence of her majesty, and her statesman, lord Sunderland, repeated the queen's order to captain Horsey, with the injunction that he was to use discretion and not to proceed to extremities. The captain was malcontent, and would evidently have preferred a skirmish to disperse lord Sunderland himself, her grace his mother-in-law, and the rest of the family junta and their faction, who kept the queen in check. "Am I to preach to the mob?" asked captain Horsey, "or am I to fight them? If you want preaching, please to send with me some one who is a better hand at holding forth than I am; if you want fighting, it is my trade, and I will do my best."¹

The queen's guards captured some of their comrades of her royal guards, and some of her majesty's watermen, leading the mob, and in the very act of rioting, burning, and destroying. "So," adds Cunningham, "the very court itself was not free from suspicion. When the queen was informed of the species of prisoners made, her majesty declared 'that she herself would be at the cost of the damage they had done; and as for those who were her servants, they should have a fair trial, without favor on her part.'"² Here Cunningham (the only historian who enters into the particulars of the incidents connected with this singular period of Anne's reign) indulges in a furious tirade against queens-regnant and female government in general, affirming that "the English people were perfectly disgusted with the authority of women." But if they were, the people

¹ "Colonel Horsey," says Edmund Calamy, "told me that he ventured his neck by going upon verbal orders; the hurry being so great to secure the Bank, that the queen gave him no warrant until his return."—*Life of Calamy*, vol. ii. p. 228.

² Cunningham's *History of Great Britain*, book xiii. p. 294.

had a remarkable way of showing it, since all the facts of the case prove that the popularity of the queen was just then unbounded. As wide from historical truth is his sarcasm, levelled at queen Anne and all other female sovereigns, when he commends the French for having excluded females from "the administration of government." The historian ought to have known that the reins of empire in France had been placed by preference, not only in the hands of queens, who were mothers to their minor kings, as regents, but in those of the sisters of their infant sovereigns, and very gloriously had some of the French female regents reigned. In short, there had been more female sovereigns in France under the title of regents, than in England as regnant-queens. To three royal ladies France was indebted for her preservation in very dangerous times. These were, Blanche of Castile, queen-regent; the lady of Beaujeu, regent-governess; likewise Louise of Savoy, who, in the dire distress after the battle of Pavia, governed France with sagacity and courage of high degree. The French refused their crown to the princesses of their royal line, and forbade the succession to pass through female descent, lest France should either be made a province to another nation, or a prince should claim the throne who was a foreigner, and spoke their beloved language imperfectly, or not at all. Such was the origin of their Salic law, according to their most ancient authorities.

All the alarms and conflagrations of the tumultuous night of February 28th, which scared sleep from the royal pillow, did not prevent queen Anne from visiting the focus of agitation, Westminster hall, as on the two preceding mornings. Notwithstanding the restless throngs which pervaded the streets of her metropolis, she went *incognita*, and therefore without guards. Before her majesty entered her chair, she was destined to a severer trial of her courage; for the duchess of Marlborough came to carry on one of her discussions, on the usual theme of offences, either given or taken. "I waited on the queen the next morning," writes the duchess, "half an hour before she went to the trial, and told her 'that I had observed the day before that

the duchess of Somerset had refused to sit at the trial, which I did not know the meaning of, since her majesty was pleased to order it, and that was nothing more than was agreeable to the constant practice of the court on such occasions; but, however, if it would be in any respect more pleasing to her majesty that we should stand in future,' I begged 'she would let me know her mind about it, because I should be very sorry to do anything that should give her the least dissatisfaction.'¹ To this the queen answered, with more peevishness than was natural to her, 'If I had not liked you to sit, why should I have ordered it?' This plainly showed that the cabal had been 'blowing her up.'² Few persons are aware of the antiquity of this phrase of the commonalty, and still fewer would expect to find it among the flowers of feminine rhetoric used by a duchess and a court beauty, and applied, withal, to the majesty of Great Britain. It stands among the manuscripts of the haughty mistress of the robes, in full proof of the truth of the saying, "that queen Anne might make Sarah Churchill a duchess, but that it was beyond her power to make her a gentlewoman." That day the duchess of Ormonde and lady Fretcheville came into the queen's box to witness the Sacheverel trial; they were, however, contented to avail themselves of the queen's gracious permission for the ladies to sit while she remained *incognita*.

By the exertions of captain Horsey and the queen's guards, the populace were restrained from molesting the persons deemed most inimical to the church of England; nevertheless, the people continued to escort the queen and the prisoner home to their several abiding places with formidable threats against the foes of the church. Vast masses of the people remained blocked and wedged in St. James's square and the environs of the palace all night, and every night in the first fortnight of March. Cries of entreaty on the queen "not to desert the church and Sacheverel," were distinctly heard by her majesty and the household. It was dangerous for any person, of whatever party they might be, to pass without wearing the oak-leaf, which

¹ Coxo MSS.; duchess of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Hutchinson. ² Ibid.

was just then the popular badge, being considered the symbol of "monarchy restored."¹ Artificial bouquets must have been prepared and sold for the purpose, since oak-leaves are not to be found in February, or even in March. At the end of a contest, lasting for three weeks, Sacheverel received the sentence of "suspension from preaching for three years." As so much worse had been expected, this mild sentence was greeted by the people as a triumphant acquittal, and symptoms of the greatest delight were manifested throughout London.²

The popular indications so thoroughly apparent at the prosecution of Dr. Sacheverel, encouraged queen Anne to act on her determination to expel the junta that had for years enslaved her. Her subjects of the lower classes had risen, shook their rugged strength, growled defiance on the whig ministry, protected the church and the person of Dr. Sacheverel, and then lay down again, perfectly satisfied that the queen was on the side of that beloved church. The people showed unmistakable inclination to rise again to the rescue, if further danger threatened either. The attachment which the English people manifested to the established church at this period, and for the preceding fifty years, has been treated by historians either with utter superciliousness, or with tirades of abuse, which give not the slightest information to the very natural question of wherefore the populace rose to protect, when the usual movement of that class is to destroy? It is with simplicity of conviction, from every bearing of evidence, we assert that the causes of the insurrectionary movement of the English populace for the protection of the church and Dr. Sacheverel proceeded from gratitude for the manner in which

¹ Cunningham's History of Great Britain.

² The popularity of Dr. Sacheverel has been mentioned by historians as extremely evanescent, and that circumstance is alleged in proof of his utter worthlessness of character. But it appears, in the course of lady Sundon's Correspondence (lately edited by Mrs. Thomson, author of the Court and Times of Henry VIII.), that, even in the reign of George II., Sacheverel, whenever he was recognized in public, was greeted with the same manifestations of affection from the populace, which, in the depressed state of the church of England, he endeavored to avoid, as likely to draw on him the malice of the Walpole ministry.

the poor were relieved and governed by the church of England; and likewise from impulses of fear, lest the mighty charity of the daily offertory should be extinguished with the vital functions of their church,—apprehensions which were realized in a few years.

Supported by the recent manifestation of popular sympathy, the queen slowly but surely took measures to free herself from the insupportable yoke of the family junta; and as the spring advanced, most of its members came to the conviction that their places at court and in her majesty's government were untenable, a conviction likewise strengthened by their intimate knowledge of the exhaustion of the treasury, and their heavy involvement in national debt. As soon as the disunion between queen Anne and the duchess of Marlborough became matter of public notoriety, the court ladies divided themselves into violent factions. The royal ear was besieged with extraordinary anecdotes, illustrative of the ingratitude and insolence of her whom her majesty had delighted to honor; among others, it was said that the duchesses of Somerset and Marlborough, standing as sponsors for a noble infant, the latter duchess had contradicted the proposal of her grace of Somerset to name their godchild Anne, saying, "there never was any one good for much of that name. I will not stand for the babe, if she is called Anne." The duchess herself, hearing that the queen was much hurt and offended at this tale, wrote an explanation, declaring the whole to be the malicious construction of her grace of Somerset, and thus relating the incident:—"At the christening of the child of Mrs. Meredith, I was pressed very much to give the name, which properly it was the place of the duchess of Somerset to do; at last, to end the dispute, it was agreed by all that the child should have the queen's name. After this had been settled, I turned to the duchess of Somerset and said to her, in a smiling way, 'That as the duke of Hamilton had made a boy a girl, and christened it Anne, after the royal godmother, why should we not make this girl a boy, and call her George?' The duchess of Somerset laughed at it, as I dare say the queen herself would

have done if she had been present; but this was represented to the queen in as different and false a way as possible, as I heard afterwards from very good *hands*.”¹ From very good *tongues*, the duchess possibly meant. There were informers who insinuated to the queen that the name of George being recommended by her in contradistinction to that of Anne, evidently signified that her discarded favorite wished all possible homage should be offered the rising sun in Hanover, the sole personal interest that the queen had felt in the name of George being entombed with her deceased consort.

Queen Anne had mentioned, in the hearing of Mrs. Darcey, one of the palace-ladies, many stories which had been told as illustrative of the disrespect and ill-will that the duchess of Marlborough was perpetually manifesting towards her majesty. Mrs. Darcey repeated the queen's observations to the duchess of Marlborough, and the duchess, impelled by the despairing whigs, determined to force an interview with the queen, for the purpose of explaining away her conduct, and circumventing those “who were watching for their share of her spoils;” which spoils, however, merely meant the reversion of her court-places. The queen, seeing that her former favorite, who still retained all her appointments, meant to have some discussion with her, manifested so much distaste and reluctance, that the duchess contented herself with requesting that her majesty would please to grant her a half-hour's audience before she retired into the country. The queen did not think proper to deny the request, but required that she should put what she had to say into writing. The duchess persisted that her communication was “of a nature that rendered writing it impossible.” The queen, whose curiosity was perhaps piqued, finished by appointing six o'clock the next afternoon for the conference. “This was an hour,” the duchess of Marlborough observes, “that the queen usually spent in prayer.”² But before the day and hour came, the queen

¹ Inedited letter to Mr. Hutchinson from the duchess of Marlborough; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

² Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

wrote to the duchess of Marlborough to "send her *commands*," as she expressed herself, "by the bearer;" in other words, to make a memorial of whatsoever she had to say. Instead of writing as desired, the duchess, whilst performing some official duty about her majesty, again seized the opportunity of demanding a private interview. The queen, alarmed lest another scene of violence should take place, once more made an appointment, which she broke the next day by writing to the duchess, telling her "that she had been exceedingly fatigued with business, but that she was going to Kensington to dine that day, and to rest and refresh herself for two or three more; but that she would not detain her from the country, and it would be the same thing if she put in writing what she had to say, as if she talked with her."¹

It was in vain her majesty strove to escape the dreaded interview; her tormentor followed her up very closely, and immediately answered the royal billet to the following effect:—

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.

"I am glad your majesty is going to Kensington to make use of the fresh air, and to take care of your health. I will follow you thither, and wait every day till it is convenient for you to see me, as what I have to say is of such a nature as to require *no answer*."

The queen received this unwelcome missive on Sunday, April 6, 1710, at Kensington palace; by the time it reached the royal hand, the audacious writer followed it, and, in order that there might be no answer or denial written, stationed herself at once on the window-seat of the back-stair, "where," she says, in her manuscript narrative, "I sat, like a Scotch lady waiting for an answer to a petition." The queen having just dined, there was no bedchamber woman there, only Mrs. Abrahall, and a page of the back-stairs. Mrs. Abrahall had been the ostensible cause of the rupture between her majesty and the Marlborough duchess, therefore her agency was not invoked; but the duchess condescended to ask the page in waiting "whether he did not occasionally scratch at the queen's door, when anybody

¹ MS. letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

came to see her?" The official having acknowledged that such was the case, the duchess desired him to make the usual scratch; and then go to the queen and tell her that she was there, and ask "whether her majesty would please to see her then, or whether she should come some other time?"¹ A long pause ensued; the duchess retreated to her window, and sat in the unwonted attitude she has described as a suppliant for audience, while the page made the signal-scratch, and delivered her message to her royal mistress. The signal-scratch was a court refinement introduced from France; the knock for admittance was considered importunate, startling, and even of boding import. It had been interwoven in many ghostly tales of that era, while the scratch at the door seemed only like the supplication of some gentle and affectionate animal, some purring pet, or some faithful dog, attached, not to the sovereign power, but to the sovereign's person.

While waiting there in her window-seat, the duchess affirmed "that she ruminated on her position as one of undue humility, for with queen Anne's gold keys by her side, she had every right to walk in after the page, without either knocks or scratches, or any other announcement."² Indeed, her recital of the gradual approaches she made on this occasion, so softly and stealthily, to the presence of her royal mistress, observing the most rigorous formula of etiquette, proves how conscious she was of the outrages she had committed in their last private conference. The queen was alone and writing when the duchess was admitted by the page of the back-stairs. As she opened the door, the queen said, "I was going to write to you." "Upon what, madame?" asked the duchess, forgetting, the instant she was in the royal presence, her recently conned lessons of humility. "I did not open your letter till just now, and I was going to write to you."—"Was there anything in it, madame, that you had a mind to answer?"—"I

¹ MS. letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

² Ibid. Likewise another inedited fragment among the Coxe MSS., collated with the "Conduct."

think there is nothing you can have to say but you may write it," was the royal reply. "Won't your majesty give me leave to tell it you?"—"Whatever you have to say, you may write it," reiterated the queen. "I believe your majesty never did so hard a thing to anybody, as to refuse to hear them speak,—even the meanest person that ever desired it," said the duchess, after the queen had twice more reiterated the same phrase. "Yes," said her majesty, "I *do* bid people put what they have to say in writing, when I have a mind to it."—"I have nothing to say, madame," replied the duchess, "upon the subject that is so uneasy to you; that person [Mrs. Masham] is not, that I know of, at all concerned in the account that I would give you, which I can't be quiet till I have told you."

Notwithstanding the once awful intimation "that the duchess could not be quiet," queen Anne reiterated the same note,—*"You may put it into writing."* The duchess kept down her wrath, and proceeded to tell the queen the gossip which Mrs. Darcey had communicated to her; adding, "that she was no more capable of making such disrespectful mention of her majesty, than she was of killing her own children." Here the queen must have strongly remembered the insulting expressions regarding herself which she had heard issue from this person's own lips; therefore, turning away, her majesty coolly remarked, "There are many lies told." Then the duchess humbly begged "that the queen would be pleased to let her know if anybody had told her anything of her of that nature, that she might then take an opportunity of clearing herself, or begging her majesty's pardon."

One whole hour, according to the statement of the duchess herself, passed away in these fruitless protestations; at the end of which time the queen took refuge in the repetition of another sentence, which at the same time applied to the memorable scene in St. Paul's cathedral at the thanksgiving for the victory of Oudenarde, when the duchess, in the height of her imperious humor, had bidden the queen "be silent, and give her no answer." In her late notes she had used the same sentence, saying "that

she required no answer," or that "she would not trouble the queen to give her one." Great offence was taken by her majesty, who replied to most of the duchess's deprecatory speeches with a quotation from her own directions, which the queen had thus repeatedly received, both verbally and in writing. "You said you required no answer, and I will give you none." The voice of the duchess then began to rise louder; "she taunted the queen with what had been uttered in her hearing by some of the lords at Westminster hall during the late trial of Sacheverel.¹ The queen interrupted a torrent of expostulations with the words, "I will leave the room."

In the former stormy interview, the duchess of Marlborough had set her back against the door, and told her sovereign "she should stay and hear all she chose to say." Times had changed, however. With a passionate burst of tears she prevented the queen's retreat by retiring into the long gallery, where she sat for some time, sobbing and wiping her eyes, and cogitating what should be her next movement. At last, having thought of a plan to touch the feelings of her former friend, she scratched at the door of the royal cabinet; the queen herself opened it. The duchess said, "I have been thinking, whilst I sat there, that if your majesty came to the castle at Windsor, where I had heard you are soon expected, it would not be easy to see me in public now, I am afraid. I will therefore take care to avoid being at the Lodge at the same time, to prevent any unreasonable clamor, or stories that might originate in my being so near your majesty without waiting on you."—"Oh," replied queen Anne, very readily, "you may come to me at the castle; it will not make me uneasy." From this, the duchess of Marlborough truly enough concluded that the queen would have no objection to see her when she was guarded by the rigor of public receptions or state official duties, but that her resolution was immutable never to permit another private conference.² The duchess had

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 304.

² Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

neither the good sense nor tact to permit the conversation to drop with this rather placable ending. She returned to her passionate recrimination, and denounced judgments on the queen, saying, "she was sure her majesty would suffer for her inhumanity."—"That will be to myself," replied her majesty,¹ closing the colloquy with more dignity than she had sustained it. So ended the last conversation queen Anne ever had with the person who had ruled her for more than thirty years.

Yet it was long before the duchess of Marlborough could convince herself of the fact that this was the last conference she was ever to hold with her once loving and familiar friend. She had always built hopes on the circumstance of the queen's speaking to her, with kind condoling inquiries "regarding a bad cold she had when in waiting on the occasion of the late trial in Westminster hall."² It is true she had heard that the queen never meant to talk confidentially to her, after her furious conduct at Windsor castle; but, from this incident she had hoped that the queen's reported resentment would prove merely a false alarm. The duchess immediately wrote an account of the ill-boding scene with royalty, which had occurred on the 6th of April, to Godolphin, who was then at Newmarket attending the Easter meeting.

Queen Anne was employed in other thoughts than the wrangling interview she had just endured with her former favorite. She was certainly cogitating on a measure which brought conviction to the whole family junta that their fall was resolved upon. The first removal the queen commenced with was the substitution of the tory duke of Shrewsbury for the whig marquess of Kent, as lord chamberlain of the household. Anne announced this measure to lord Godolphin, in a letter³ dated a few days after the final interview with the duchess of Marlborough:—

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

³ No authority but the *Universal Magazine*, March, 1748; but it is fully corroborated by quotations made from it in the duchess's correspondence, Coxe MSS.

QUEEN ANNE TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"St. James's, April 13, 1710.

"I am sorry to find by your letter you are so very much in the spleen, as to think you cannot for the future contribute anything towards my quiet but your wishes; however, I still hope you will use your endeavors. Never was there more occasion than now; for, by all one hears and sees every day, as things are at present, I think one can expect nothing but confusion. I am sure, for my part, I shall be ready to join with all my friends in everything that is reasonable to allay the heat and ferment that is in this poor nation.

"Since you went to Newmarket, I have received several assurances from the duke of Shrewsbury of his readiness to serve me upon all occasions, and his willingness to come into my service; which offer I was very glad to accept of, having a very good opinion of him, and believing he may be of great use in these troublesome times. For these reasons, I have resolved to part with the duke [marquess] of Kent, who I hope will be easy in the matter *by being made a duke*; and I hope that this change will meet with your approbation, which I wish I may ever have in all my actions.

"I have not yet declared my intentions of giving the staff and the key to the duke of Shrewsbury, because I would be the first that should acquaint you with it."

The want of wisdom in the character of queen Anne is apparent in this letter. She commences by addressing a taunt regarding the spleen to a man, whom she tries by flattery to propitiate at the conclusion. If she really wished to conciliate him, she should not have mentioned the spleen; on the contrary, if she meant to defy him, it was absurd to beg for his approbation. Whether queen Anne felt as a friend or enemy towards Godolphin, her letter was equally injudicious, especially when she knew well that his temper was exceedingly irritable. As may be supposed, he took fire in his answer at the paragraph touching "the spleen."—"I have the grief to find," he replied, "*that* which you are pleased to call spleen in my former letter was only a true impulse of mind that your majesty is suffering yourself to be guided to your own ruin and destruction, as fast as it is possible for them to compass it to whom you seem so much to hearken." It is impossible to follow lord Godolphin throughout this long angry letter, in which he reproaches the queen for having resolved to make peace without mentioning the same to the duke of Marlborough or him. He declares, "that her crown depends on the continuance of the war,"—in which

he was mistaken. Lord Godolphin ended by telling her majesty "to keep his letter, and read it about Christmas, and then she would find who gave her the best advice." As for the staff and key, on which his royal mistress demanded his counsel, he was in too great a rage to mention them.

The queen next hastened to remove lord Sunderland from the office of her secretary of state, for the insults with which this young man loaded her were felt by her majesty more severely than even the conduct of her arch enemy, his mother-in-law. It is supposed that lord Sunderland had usually heard her majesty spoken of in his wife's family-circle with such insolent familiarity that he found it impossible to treat her with common respect; the queen complained "that he always chose to reflect on all princes before her in the most injurious manner, as a proper entertainment for *her*."¹ Yet this nobleman, who affected republican bluntness, would have found it difficult to quote any action of a royal personage parallel to that with which his political career closed.²

It has been seen that a furious paper-war had taken place between the queen and the duchess of Marlborough on the appointment of lord Sunderland, first as lord privy-seal, and afterwards as secretary of state. It is possible that if lord Sunderland had forborne from personal aggravation, queen Anne would have endured patiently, while her life lasted, the heavy bondage with which his imperious mother-in-law oppressed her. The remembrance of the victory formerly gained in her contest with the queen relative to the appointment of lord Sunderland, gave a fresh impetus to the courage of the defeated duchess of Marlborough. She knew she had one card to play, which she thought would cause the queen to succumb; she therefore boldly plunged into a fresh attack by letter. The following is one of the

¹ Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet, vol. vi. p. 7.

² The petty fees of 500*l.*, etc., with which Barillon purchased the fathers, would have been scorned by the sons. Lord Sunderland the younger, when the South Sea iniquity was unravelled, was found to be the owner of 50,000*l.* of the newly-created stock, for which he had not paid one penny of purchase-money.—See lord Mahon's Hist. from Peace of Utrecht.

most insolent she ever addressed to Anne: it has been hitherto inedited.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.¹

"There was something very unusual in the manner of the last conversation I had with your majesty, in your declaring you would give no answer to whatsoever I said; and in the disorder that appeared, by your turning from the candle² when you thought I was going to mention something that you did not care to hear of, that I can't but think you are ashamed of the company you generally have, and sensible of the ill consequences of having such a favorite, and of the reflections that are made all over the town upon it, since 'tis certain that nothing your majesty ever does can be a secret; if, then, there can be a pleasure in anything one is ashamed to own (for which I have no taste), I am sure you will pay very dear for it. I never yet heard of any prince that kept little company that was not of course unfortunate.³ . . . What I now say is for no private interest, nor with any particular regard to myself. I only wish you would choose such people to converse with as would keep your character from falling in the opinion of your subjects; and besides the interest you would have in it, you would find it much more easy to pass your time in such a way as to have no need of any disguise. I beg you, madame, for your own sake, to think what the world must say, upon your showing that your real confidence and kindness is gone from those that have done you much true service (and that have so much respect paid them at home and abroad), to Mrs. Masham, her sister, and a Scotch doctor, and others one is ashamed to name; and, in short, to anybody that will make court to *her* [Mrs. Masham], who must always be contemptible wretches, since they can condescend to *such lowness* in order to compass their ends with your majesty.

"Your majesty having often said that you were always ready to live with me as you had done, and that it was not your fault if it were otherwise, *I have attempted* several times to come to you in the same easy manner; and when you went to Windsor, I did most humbly desire you to give me one half-hour when you received, and to consider well upon my subject, and to let me hear from you."

Total silence was, however, maintained by the queen. The advancement of Mrs. Masham's brother in the army was once more a cause of contention. Marlborough positively refused it; the queen as positively affirmed that she would not sign one of the numerous commissions, according to Marlborough's appointment, until her will was obeyed in this matter. There is no doubt such determination would

¹ Coxe Papers, Brit. Museum, vol. xlv. art. 72, inedited.

² Thus the final interview between the queen and the duchess must have lasted from after the queen's three o'clock dinner until candle-light in April.

³ Here a break and some illegible words occur.

soon have had its due effect, for it appears that Marlborough received payment for them; but, after having uttered the threat to Robert Walpole, secretary at war, her majesty recalled her words in a fright, and requested him "never to tell the Marlboroughs what she had said," and at the same time acknowledging "that she had purposely stopped the commissions on this account; yet she desired that they might not know the delay arose from anything but accident."¹ As may be supposed, her faithful secretary at war instantly communicated the whole conversation to the duke of Marlborough. The duchess of Marlborough protested, with far more vehemence than her lord, against the advancement of her cousin, repeating his words that "Jack Hill was good for nothing as a soldier." Jack had, however, shared in most of the bloody actions in Flanders, with at least the credit of personal courage. It is undeniable, nevertheless, that general Hill had treated the duchess with positive ingratitude, for she had formerly cherished him with something like maternal tenderness. She said, and apparently truly, "that she had given him a home and education when he was a destitute vagabond." She speaks with indignation "of his rising out of a sick-bed, and going in a wrapping-gown and cloak to vote for the ruin of the duke of Marlborough, when she had ever shown him the kindness of a mother." The duchess declares "that his sole talent consisted in mimicry, in which his sister, Mrs. Masham, likewise excelled."

Perhaps the threat that the queen had ventured to express, although weakly recalled in her interview with Walpole, had its due weight when it was communicated to the duke of Marlborough; for he hastened to write, "that he begged the commission of colonel Hill might be made out and sent to him directly; but as some accident might happen, to show his wish to make everything easy to the queen, and to obey her commands, he should directly send for colonel Hill, and *declare* him brigadier."² The matter

¹ Walpole Correspondence, edited by Coxe, vol. ii. p. 17; letter of sir R. Walpole to Marlborough, May 12, 1710.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

in dispute was thus amicably adjusted between Anne and her general; not so in regard to her former favorite and present tyrant, the duchess, who never abated her maledictions on the head of "Jack Hill," till other offences from the queen crowded this one out of its supremacy and pre-eminence.

So early as the preceding reign, it has been shown that the conquest of Canada was deemed an important measure for the security of British America; likewise that the attempt under the government of queen Mary had been abortive. There is reason to suppose that the determination to persevere in the same measure sprang entirely from queen Anne's own mind, since the general of the expedition to Canada was of her especial appointment, being no other than the redoubtable Jack Hill. For the first time in English history, the allegiance, or rather alliance, of the savage tribes of North American aborigines was demanded by the British monarch, and the atrocious policy of unloosing human fiends on Christian colonists was adopted, to the unspeakable woe of harmless families belonging to either the French or English settlements for more than a century. A deputation from the savage chiefs made a voyage to England, and were introduced at the court of Anne. The circumstance is recorded by the excellent transatlantic historian, in these words:—"Five Sachems from the Iroquois had sailed with Schuyler for England. They appeared, amidst the gaze of crowds, dressed in English small-clothes of black, with scarlet ingrain cloth mantles, edged with gold, for their blankets. They were conducted in state in coaches to an audience with queen Anne; and, giving her belts of wampum, they avowed their readiness to take up the hatchet, and aid her in the reduction of Canada."¹ Wigs are not enumerated with the rest of the court costume of the queen's savage allies, although long flowing ones might have been considered by the children of the forest as the English warriors' helms of terror. The *Tatler* and *Spectator* often allude to the visit of the Sachems to the court of queen Anne. The attempt on Quebec, com-

¹ Bancroft's *United States*, vol. iii. p. 219; A.D. 1710.

manded by general Hill, utterly failed, to the great exultation of the Marlborough opposition.

The struggle relative to the dismissal of lord Sunderland, the son-in-law of the duchess of Marlborough, from his place of secretary of state, continued to be maintained by her angry grace, in a series of violent letters to the queen, long after that measure took place, which occurred June 15, 1710. One of the most intemperate among them was sent abroad, for the duke of Marlborough to copy and send to the queen, as if from himself; it was tossed by that sagacious politician behind the fire, as if by mistake,—a measure which did not prevent the queen from receiving a worse edition of the same composition,¹ but written by the duchess in her own name. In desperation at the apprehended fall of her party, and utterly forbidden all private access to the queen, the duchess had recourse to one of the royal physicians, sir David Hamilton, to insinuate to her majesty, “that in case of continued obduracy, she should publish to the world all the queen’s former letters of friendship and fondness for her.”² It is not exactly clear whether the physician-spy was in the interest of his royal mistress or her enemy; perhaps he made his advantage out of both. One circumstance is undeniable, which is, that the arrow launched by the duchess had its effect in giving pain to the queen. In order to follow up the effect of sir David’s insinuations, the duchess enclosed one of the queen’s former fond letters, to remind her majesty how high her opinion of her had been at its date, and to raise suitable ideas of the sensation which would be created in the world if such epistles became matters of public discussion. The queen eagerly detained her own letter; and to her reply, indited by her advisers, she added a postscript, written in her usual style, demanding, in a strain of something like tender reproach, the restoration of *all* her letters, “as she was sure the duchess did not *now* value them.” This demand was considered as a proof that the queen felt the alarm the duchess wished to inspire. She exultingly wrote back to her royal mistress:—

¹ Coxe MSS., xlv. fol. 42; Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

"I hasten to the latter part of your letter, in which you desire that all the letters I have of yours may be sent back, and give the reason for it, 'because 'tis impossible they can now be agreeable to me;' but though your majesty takes care to make them less pleasing to me than I once thought they would have been, I cannot yet find it in my heart to part with *one*. And though I cannot dispute your keeping your own letter that I sent you, I can the more easily spare it, because I have drawers full of the same in every place wherever I have lived. Yet I much wondered at your majesty's keeping the duke of Somerset's, which I only sent to show what he once thought of the duke of Marlborough's services: 'tis not, surely, usual to detain *another body's letters*.'" ¹

The dismissal of Sunderland being at last effected by the queen, was followed by that of her long-trusted lord treasurer, Godolphin, an event which occurred August 6, 1710. The queen endeavored to ameliorate this measure by the following letter; the offer it contains is magnificent, although the rage with which it inspired Godolphin was too overpowering to permit himself to accept it:—

QUEEN ANNE TO THE EARL OF GODOLPHIN, LORD TREASURER.²

"Kensington, August 7, 1710.

"The uneasiness you have showed for some time has given me very much trouble, though I have borne it; *and* had your behavior continued the same as it was for a few years after my coming to the crown, I *could have* no dispute with myself what to do. But the many unkind *returns* I have received since, especially *what* you said to me before the lords, *makes* it impossible for me to continue you any longer in my service; but I will give you a pension of four thousand a year, and I desire, that instead of bringing the staff to me, you will break it, which I believe will be easier to us both."

The duchess of Marlborough's manuscripts give some characteristic particulars of Anne at this momentous period of her history. She says, "After the receipt of this letter, lord Godolphin hastened to the queen. He reasoned with her on her danger in dismissing the whigs, and finished by asking 'whether he should go on?'—meaning as lord treasurer. The queen answered, 'Yes.'³ Lord Godolphin noticed, however, something strange and gloomy in her looks. He supposed, nevertheless, she meant to abide by the assent he had extorted from her, and had not the least idea of what was to happen the next day, "when he was removed in an unheard-of manner for a man in the high station of

¹ Coxe's MSS.; Brit. Museum.

² Coxe's Marlborough.

³ Coxe's MSS., Brit. Museum. Add. MSS. vol. xlv. folio 90. 1710. Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to sir David Hamilton.

lord treasurer, with no more ceremony than a letter written by the queen, and left with his porter. The contents of this letter," continues the duchess, "were so extraordinary, that I am not at liberty to name them." Several of lord Godolphin's friends expressed to the queen their concern at his dismissal from the office of lord treasurer, particularly at her manner of parting with a man "who, like Mentor in *Telemachus*,¹ had taught her for more than *twenty* years, —her majesty being, in all things, the most ignorant and helpless creature living."—"The queen," pursues the duchess, "made these persons the very same answer that she did to a *valet-de-chambre*, who was turned out of the office of the robes,—‘I am sorry for it, but cannot help it.’ And to show her sorrow, the next thing her majesty did was to turn out lord Godolphin's son also, lord Rialton, who was likewise the duchess of Marlborough's son-in-law, with which he was very sensibly affected."

A base intrigue is revealed in the same letter by the duchess of Marlborough. She describes to sir David Hamilton, whom she is in the act of suborning for the same purpose, "that there was a servant in an humble station, but in waiting near the royal person, with whom her majesty often gossiped."² The menial had agreed with the duchess, "that nothing succeeded with queen Anne but flattery or fear." The residue shall be told in the ungrateful woman's own base words:—"For which reason, he pretended he would fright the queen about the letters I had in my power, and give her to understand 'how unwilling he should be to fall out with one *that could do so much hurt as I might do her majesty*;' adding, 'he feared that her provocations would make me print her letters, for that I had a great spirit, and was justly enraged to be put in print for such lies as I had been.'" Who can avoid feeling indignant at finding the majesty of Great Britain held in awe by a base servant, at the instigation of the favorites she had

¹ An expression which shows that, as early as 1709, Fenelon's admired romance was familiar enough in England for quotation.

² Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to sir David Hamilton, the physician-spy.

raised from nothing to insult her! Anne was intimidated, for the duchess observes, "The queen ordered this man to write me a letter to Windsor, and send it by a messenger on purpose (which shows she knew her letters were opened). He was to desire me 'as a friend not to do anything that might reflect on her majesty, insinuating that there was still room for reconciliation with her and me.' And," continues this manuscript, "to carry on the matter more successfully, I writ all my letters to him [the menial spy about the queen] with a design he should show them to her majesty, *who*, thinking I knew nothing of her seeing any of my letters, and as her mind loved to manage such a secret with any one in a low station, I so ordered it that I might say what otherwise could not have been told her."¹

"I am afraid," wrote the duchess at the same time to sir David Hamilton, in illustration of her royal mistress's character, "you will have a very ill opinion of me, that could pass so many hours with one I have just given such a character of; but though it was extremely tedious to pass so many hours where there could be no conversation, I knew she loved me, and I suffered much by fearing I did wrong when I was not with her." That is, the duchess dreaded the consequences of not mounting guard perpetually. "I have gone to the queen a thousand times," she added, "when I had rather been in a dungeon." There is great reason to believe that sir David Hamilton made use of this fine epistle against the duchess, and showed it to the queen,—at least, the writer afterwards suspected as much. If such were the case, the queen might have had still fuller conviction that the companion of her youth never loved her, as the conclusion avers "that she served the queen as zealously as any persons could do that they *really* loved, and had all the merit in the world."

Lord Godolphin was deeply disappointed at the failure of his endeavor to retain office. In a state of exasperation, on receiving the queen's final order he not only broke his white staff, but flung it contemptuously into the grate.

¹ Coxe MSS., vol. xlv. folio 90-92; inedited letter of the duchess of Marlborough to sir David Hamilton.

The incident gave rise to a party epigram, written by Swift, who had arrived in London, suborned by the Tories to write them up, and to write their opponents down :—

“ Dear Sid,¹ then why wert thou so mad,
To break thy rod, like naughty lad?
You should have kissed it in distress,
And then returned it to your mistress.”

If queen Anne had a passion, it was that the most scrupulous attention might be paid to all the laws of etiquette, however minute they might be. It was hard that, in her reign, the principal of all her white sticks should treat the insignia of his dignity in a manner totally unprecedented in courtly annals; but knowing the weak side of his royal mistress, it is to be feared he did it purposely, out of malice prepense. The queen placed the office of lord treasurer *in the hands of seven commissioners*,² at the head of whom was Mr. Harley, who was created afterwards earl of Oxford and Mortimer, when she made him lord treasurer.

The revival of the old system of the revelation of assassination-plots was next tried, in order to excite fears either for her life, or gratitude for her preservation, in the breast of the queen. The duke of Marlborough wrote to his duchess “that prince Eugene had informed him of an assassin, that was coming to England from Vienna with designs against the queen’s life; and that the utmost care should be taken lest the murderer should get access to the royal presence.” The duchess went to court very consequentially, and demanded admittance to the queen “on a matter of life and death.” The queen refused to see her, and a memorial of her business was coldly required: the duchess sent her husband’s letter. Anne was inaccessible to fears for her personal safety. The most dignified action of her life was, returning the warning respecting her assassination without deigning to notice the circumstance,—merely enclosing the duke of Marlborough’s letter, accompanied with these

¹ Sidney was lord Godolphin’s baptismal name.

² Cunningham’s History of Great Britain. This expedient of placing great offices in commission was resorted to, in that era, whensoever the government was unsettled, or could not be organized all of one party.

words, addressed to the duchess of Marlborough, dated from Kensington:—

“Just as I was coming down-stairs I received yours, so could not return the enclosed back till I came to this place.”¹

This sentence comprised the last epistle ever written by queen Anne, the once “adoring Mrs. Morley, to her Mrs. Freeman.”

When it was found that the quarrel between the queen and the duchess of Marlborough was public and irreconcilable, bishop Burnet forced an interview with her majesty, and endeavored to intimidate her from a change of ministers. “I showed her,” he said,² “that ‘if she suffered the Pretender’s party to prepare the nation for his succeeding her, that she must not think, if that matter was thought fixed, they would stay for the natural end of her life, but that they would find ways to shorten it. Nor did I think it was to be doubted but that, in 1708, when the Pretender was on the sea, they had laid some *assassinates* here, who would, on his landing, have tried to despatch her.’ This, with a great deal more to the same purpose, I laid before the queen. She heard me patiently. She was for the most part silent; yet, by what she said, she seemed desirous to make me think she agreed to what I laid before her, but I found afterwards it had no effect upon her.” The earl of Dartmouth adds, “that the queen, who gave him a patient hearing because she was the best-bred person in her realm, was much amused at the bishop’s fears for himself; as, in the course of the harangue he had betrayed his apprehension that, in case of the Pretender’s landing, he should himself be the very first person who would be hanged.”³ The bishop did not succeed in raising any personal apprehension in the mind of the queen for her own safety; her fault was indecision, not cowardice.

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe’s MSS., Brit. Museum. There are three editions of this circumstance, each with some variation, either printed in the *Conduct*, or inedited among the Coxe manuscripts.

² Burnet’s *Own Times*, vol. v. p. 442.

³ Lord Dartmouth’s *Notes to Burnet’s History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 263.

English Costumes of the XVIIIth Century

THE MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT

*After the Painting by Hogarth now in the National
Gallery, London*



Lord Dartmouth had, during the gradual changes among the ministry in the course of the summer of 1710, accepted office as one of the secretaries of state. There was a degree of friendly intimacy between the queen and himself, which caused them often to gossip over the characters and conduct of such courtiers as they had known from their youth. In the course of these discussions, lord Dartmouth told the queen "that bishop Burnet had a great idea that he himself possessed remarkable faculties for keeping secrets." To give her majesty a specimen of the bishop's self-deception on this head, lord Dartmouth agreed with her, "that he would tell him a story regarding herself personally, and enjoin him to strict secrecy." This was done, and bishop Burnet solemnly promised to mention the incident to no one. Two days afterwards, the bishop posted to Windsor castle, and began to tell it to the queen in a private audience, which he had previously solemnly requested; her majesty received it, to the bishop's infinite astonishment, with a hearty burst of laughter.¹

Lord Somers, if the testimony of his coadjutrix, the duchess of Marlborough, may be believed, beset the queen with many flattering arts in order to retain office. The manner in which Somers was forced up as the head of the queen's councils is acknowledged by that managing dame. What can be thought of the president of the queen's wearing-apparel daring to own that she *teased* her royal mistress into the appointment of Somers to such an office as lord president of the privy council? When the duchess had praised lord-chancellor Cowper sufficiently for his submissive conduct to her, his patroness, she says of her other client:—"My lord Somers had the reverse of that behavior, for though he courted me a great while, in order to get into employment with the whigs,—visiting me, and if I met him in the streets or roads by chance, he would stand up and bow down as if I had been the queen!" Perhaps history furnishes not an instance of a similar arrogant narrative. Wolsey's slip of the pen, "I and my king," is nothing to it, for the blunder was made in Latin, and

¹ Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 443.

written, moreover, by a prince of the church, which placed its members far above all secular authority. After dwelling with emphasis on lord Somers's standing up to let her pass as if she were queen Anne, comes the reason wherefore such reverences were made by Somers,—such standings-up and such bowings-down. "Yet, after I had *teased* the queen to bring Somers into this great post," continues the duchess "(I think that of lord president), he never made me one single visit, though I never had one dispute or quarrel with him; nor did he take any more notice of me after I was out of my employments than if he had never heard of me." Lord Somers was found guilty of courting the queen and Mrs. Masham for some months afterwards, Harley and Bolingbroke having prescribed a course of conduct by which her majesty was to flatter him, "and make him believe she was fond of him," to raise the political jealousy of lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough. "The plot," adds the duchess,¹ "made lord Somers extremely pleased with the queen's favor, and he had many interviews with her alone. Her majesty acted her part very well, as she could any part given her by those she liked. I really believe Somers thought that if he could get rid of Godolphin and Marlborough, that she meant to make him her premier." Lord Somers, in some of these interviews with the royal widow, did his best to persuade her "that he was against the prosecution of Dr. Sacheverel;" indeed, the duchess casts a stigma on the whig lord president for absenting himself from the last days of that trial, on such a slight occurrence as—his mother being dead! "After the game was up," meaning the dismissal of the whigs, "a bedchamber woman, who was very honest, told me that lord Somers came very often to wait on the queen at Kensington, even when his party was quite destroyed, which convinced me that he had hopes of the queen's favor."² The duchess finishes all these innuendoes by affirming that the incorruptible lord Somers received a pension from queen Anne, paid by Mrs. Masham.

Cowper, the lord chancellor, notes in his diary his inter-

¹ Coxe MSS.; Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

view to surrender the seals to the queen. She was unwilling, and perhaps sincerely so, to receive them, for he had certainly done his duty to her and the country, by making a stand against the attempt of Marlborough to be appointed general for life. Lord Cowper mentions the dismissal of lord Wharton, lord Somers, and the duke of Devonshire; and that secretary Boyle had resigned. In the morning of September 22d the queen had an interview with her lord chancellor, who brought with him the great seal, with the intention of surrendering it into her hands. The queen strongly opposed the resignation, and made him take the seal back five times after he had laid down the bag containing it, commanding him still to hold it; adding, "I beg it as a favor, if I may use the expression." Lord Cowper took the bag, merely because he could not let it fall when the queen pressed it on him, but said, "I cannot carry it out of the palace, excepting your majesty will receive it to-morrow."¹ The queen replied "that she would agree to this arrangement, in hopes he would alter his mind." The repeated importunities of her majesty, and arguments on the lord chancellor's side, and the professions of both, extended this scene to the length of three-quarters of an hour. Lord Cowper supposes that the tories had not a successor ready for him, as sir Simon Harcourt, who finally took his place, was appointed attorney-general, and the new ministers had entreated queen Anne to delay the surrender of the seals every hour that she could. The next day her majesty had another interview with her lord chancellor. "I come now," he said, "with an easier heart than yesterday, since your majesty has promised graciously to accept my surrender if I continue this morning of the same mind, which I do."—"I can use no more arguments to-day than I did yesterday," replied queen Anne; "but I hoped you would have changed your mind." The lord chancellor answered by bending his knee and giving the queen the seal, which she then finally accepted.² Before the audience finished, lord Cowper gave the queen some advice regarding his successor, and warned her, as he had

¹ Lord Cowper's Diary (holograph); Brit Museum.

² Ibid.

done the preceding day, of the impropriety of her new ministers having issued writs omitting the tests.¹ This, as he cites the duke of Queensberry for his authority, was probably for Scotland.

Many of the ancient nobility, who had never approached the English court since the Revolution, came to pay their respects to queen Anne after she had dismissed the Marlborough faction. Among others, the duke of Beaufort, whose grandfather and father had likewise held aloof, congratulated queen Anne as if on her accession, saying, that "He was extremely glad that he could now salute her queen in reality."² Since the union with Scotland, the duke of Argyll had prevailed on queen Anne to add to the companies of her English guards the Scottish royal guard; they had new uniforms and appointments, but, to distinguish them from the English guards, their uniforms were trimmed with silver lace. The queen was displeased with this economy, and exclaimed, "I do not know my own guards!"³ Her majesty evidently preferred them according to their former picturesque appointments. So recently as the year of her accession, these guards, commanded by the earl of Orkney, had not adopted the use of firearms; for the Scots Royals wore heavy steel caps, and used bows and arrows, with broad-swords and targets.⁴ Thus queen Anne had beheld them in her youth, when she lived in Edinburgh with her father. It is not certain that they had ever guarded the royal person in England until after the Union.

One of the queen's former adherents of the tory party not only seceded from the ranks of her supporters, but attacked her with intentions that seemed almost tantamount to forcing her abdication. This was lord Nottingham, whose speeches against her in the house of lords were attributed to a very different person. It is repeated, frequently, that when the queen was present in her curtained box, listening privately to the debates in the house of peers, the duke of Buckingham, in her hearing, "urged the necessity of in-

¹ Lord Cowper's Diary (holograph); Brit. Museum.

² Granger, vol. iv. p. 269; likewise Coxe MSS.

³ Cunningham.

⁴ Scots Magazine, 1791, quoted in History of Galloway.

viting over the electress Sophia immediately, to be recognized as the heiress to the crown, because the queen might live long enough to lose the use of her faculties, and not know what she did." Such a speech is utterly against the whole tenor of the duke of Buckingham's conduct in regard to the queen; from her early youth to her death their friendly intercourse was never interrupted. Common sense rejects the idea that the queen could ever have heard this brutal and idiotic speech and retained her friendly intercourse with her former lover. How could any one, in possession of reason, talk of the intellects of a woman of eighty-two surviving those of a queen in the prime of life, whose mental powers, if not much strengthened by education, were, since she had had to struggle with the difficulties of reigning, far superior to what they had ever been? The alleged speech was utterly contrary to the duke of Buckingham's partialities, which tended more and more to the restoration of the exiled line of Stuart every day of his life; nor would the queen have called him, directly after its pretended utterance, to the highest office in her realm, that of lord president of the council. Mistakes were easy to be made as to the peer speaking, when there were no regular reports of the speeches; and as for reporters, the pillory, with loss of ears, would have been the fate of any bold barrister who listened in the house of peers to whatsoever that earl or this duke might say, and disseminated it in print to the whole world.¹ The peer who thus insulted the queen was lord Nottingham. He had been included in her first tory ministry on account of his supposed affection to the principles of the church of England; but he shook that administration to its basis by his sudden retreat, with several others, from its ranks in 1703.² The opposition of lord Nottingham to peace, when the miserable state of her people induced the queen to negotiate five years before, was of the most violent kind. Lord Nottingham's intellect, and

¹ Since the Revolution, the debates in the houses of parliament had been guarded with jealous care by the members. The journals are remarkable for their mysterious paucity.

² Somerville's *Reign of Queen Anne*.

even his moral conduct, it is hinted by the writers of his day, had strangely altered from the time when he was quoted as—

“The sober earl of Nottingham,
From sober sire descended.”

It is possible that he knew not that the queen had entered her curtained box when he made that remarkable speech, which has been nailed on the memory of the right owner by the hard-clinching satire of Swift, who would never have spared the duke of Buckingham for a moment, had it been his due, since the bitter poet hated him far worse than he did Nottingham, on account of some affront that the Jacobite duke had offered him when he was a whig author. In this poem another historical anecdote is preserved, illustrative of a cautious manœuvre of lord Nottingham at the revolution of 1688, when it was scarcely possible to tell who would ultimately prevail, Stuart or Orange:—

“When I and some others subscribed our names
To a plot for expelling my master, king James,
I withdrew my subscription by help of a blot,
And so might discover or gain by the plot.
I had my advantage, and stood at defiance,—
So Daniel¹ was got from the den of the lions;
I came in without danger, and was I to blame?
For rather than hang, I’d be Not-in-the-game.²”

“I swore to queen Anne that the prince of Hanover,
During *her* sacred life should never come over;
I made use of a trope, ‘that an heir to invite,
Was like keeping her monument ever in sight.’³
But when I thought proper I altered my note,
And, in her *own hearing*, I boldly did vote,
‘That her majesty stood in great need of a tutor,
And must have an old or a young coadjutor;’
For I would fain have put all in a flame,
Because, for some reason, I’m Not-in-the-game.”

It will be allowed that two accidents could not occur exactly alike in regard to two separate persons; therefore Bucking-

¹ *Daniel*, earl of Nottingham.—Scott’s *Swift*, vol. xii. p. 296.

² A queer pun on the title of Nottingham, implying that he was not given a part important enough to play in the game of politics.

³ Borrowed from a speech that was ever on the lips of queen Elizabeth.

ham must be acquitted of this betrayal of his long friendship for the queen. Coffee-house gossip might deceive Tindal and other contemporaries, as to the person of the peer who made the attack on the queen; but Swift had the incident direct from Mrs. Masham, who heard her majesty discuss what her own eyes had witnessed, and her ears heard. Neither queen Anne nor her ladies could mistake Buckingham for Nottingham.

The staff and key of lord chamberlain the queen bestowed upon that mysterious politician, the duke of Shrewsbury. This great noble had been entreated for the last quarter of a century to guide the helm of state, for no other reason than because he abhorred the office. The duke of Shrewsbury seemed, in the eyes of Europe, the most indecisive of human characters; he was perpetually waiting to be guided by some popular manifestation, and, by the perversity which usually attends all human affairs, the whole population chose to take him for their leader. He was willing to follow the lead, if a majority of the nation had been inclined to restore the exiled line of Stuart, but he would not become the principal in any such movement. Although he was passive in that matter, he was zealous for peace with France, from the conviction that the majority of the English people were suffering intensely. The queen confided to the duke of Shrewsbury the fact that the earl of Jersey and count Tallard, her prisoner from the battle of Blenheim, had sent, with her sanction, the abbé Gaultier¹ to France, to sound that court on the subject of peace; and likewise that they had sent Mr. Prior to follow this *avant courier*. Mackey, the spy, whose head-quarters were at Dover, discovered these proceedings, and raised an alarm in the ranks of the whig party.

The public prints at this epoch teemed with *exposés* of the impudent manner in which old inhabitants of the court and palace tricked harmless folks out of cash, by affecting to sell places about the queen's household, and even offices

¹ Gaultier had been a chaplain in the household of count Gallas, minister for the emperor at the British court, but he had been long dismissed before he took this mission.

that brought the buyers in immediate contact with her majesty's person. There was an old rapacious courtier, who had had, time immemorial, "an apartment in some odd nook of the vast pile of St. James's palace,"—for vast it was before that royal residence had twice been reduced by fire. The old courtier had done some business, now and then, by selling small places somewhat after the mode of Gil Blas and his worthy confraternity. At the change of the whig ministry, he fell in the way of a country gentleman with a larger stock of money than wit, who was willing to come down with funds for the vice-chamberlain's place. The old resident of St. James's assured him that queen Anne was disgusted with her present vice-chamberlain, Mr. Thomas Coke, and was about to send him adrift after the whiggish train (already discarded), as soon as she could meet with a likely-looking pleasant country gentleman in his place; but 7000*l.* was the lowest sum required, whereof 4000*l.* was to be given at once "to the queen's foster-sister" (perhaps a daughter of Mrs. Butt, often mentioned previously as the queen's nurse), 2000*l.* to the unfortunate discarded 'Mr. vice,' who had given a consideration of greater amount; the remaining 1000*l.* was to be divided between the minor agents, and the worthy negotiator then transacting business. But the gentleman negotiating was informed, "that to be vice-chamberlain he must be able to speak French; and when brought out for view in the gardens of St. James's, and pacing up and down before a particular range of windows, the queen's foster-sister looking out upon the candidate, if she did not think his airs and graces sufficiently distinguished for a place of such personal importance, he must give up all thoughts of it." The rogue who devised the plan had certainly a genius for comedy, and the story goes that the candidate pranced up and down for a considerable time "on view," to the great satisfaction of one of the palace housemaids, who was placed for the purpose, looking, like Jezebel, out of the window. It must have been a rich scene. One day the court-salesman carried his customer to see the queen pass to St. James's chapel; being a resident in the palace, he was able to obtain good stations.

It so happened that the duke of Shrewsbury, the lord chamberlain, being absent, Mr. vice-chamberlain led her majesty by the hand; at which sight the candidate for the office cried out, in rapture, "Ah, sir, what happiness! I wish all our friends were here now, to see the vice-chamberlain handing the queen; i'faith, the place is worth t'other thousand!" The queen probably took the speaker for a tame madman, but as places were just then changing very rapidly, Mr. vice-chamberlain Coke's attention was attracted by the words touching the sale of his place. He forthwith made due inquiry, and as the candidate, meaning honestly, made no concealment, the rogue who had carried on this ingenious negotiation was discovered, and handed up for examination at the secretary of state's office, where all his fine proceedings were taken down in writing. Two or three hampers of wine had been consumed, and more than one *rouleau* of guineas actually pocketed by the court-salesman, before the gentleman purchaser was enlightened with this evidence. So many droll circumstances came out in the course of the inquiry, that the court was convulsed with laughter for a week; and Mr. vice-chamberlain, finding he was more frightened than hurt,—nay, that he was positively benefited, for the inquiry fully confirmed her majesty in her gracious intention of retaining him in his place, permitted the roguish salesman of his office to rest unscathed, with no punishment beyond the universal ridicule he had incurred.¹

Queen Anne, at this time of political excitement, received some visitations from mad people, seeking audience in order to bestow on her advice and assistance gratuitously. One of these self-elected counsellors stopped Swift in "the Pall-Mall," being to him a gentleman unknown. He asked him his advice, saying, "he had been to see the queen, who was just come to town, but the people in waiting would not let him speak to her; that he had two hundred thousand men ready to serve her in war; that he knew the queen well, and had an apartment at court, and if she heard he was there, she would send for him immediately; and that she owed him two hundred thousand pounds. He desired to

¹ Tract of the times, entitled, A New Way of selling Places at Court.

know whether he should beg again to see her, or, as she was weary after her journey, whether he had not better stay till to-morrow?" Swift, who wanted to get rid of him, advised him "to try again at St. James's palace."¹

All removals, small and great, had been effected by the queen and her advisers before she ventured any attempt to displace from her great court-offices the terrible woman who, either by love or fear, had ruled her for so many years. The duchess of Marlborough herself exultingly attributes this circumstance to her having kept the queen in check by the threats she held over her of printing her majesty's letters of fondness and confidence.² The queen, she made out, suffered the greatest pain of mind whenever this subject was reiterated, and at last sent the duke of Shrewsbury to negotiate the surrender of her letters. All the satisfaction obtained was, "that whilst the duchess kept her places, the letters should remain unprinted." Every day the untamable duchess mounted her fine coach and drove about the town, spending her mornings in visits to her party, where she employed the time in execrating and calumniating queen Anne, and giving the most horrid insinuations on the contents of her letters. The queen cut her off from all exercise of her functions, and wholly forbade her access. Although the duchess declared "that her majesty wanted new gowns, and she must come to give orders for them,"³ Anne was, nevertheless, firm in denying her presence. Much her majesty wished to have her gold keys, in order to give them to her new officials; but the duchess having expressed her intention of not surrendering them, no one dared go to demand them of her, all the new ministry deeming it as safe and pleasant an undertaking, as to ask a milch tigress to give up a pair of her cubs.

The court remained in a laughable position from June to December, fairly kept at bay by one daring woman, who remained in office in defiance of sovereign, prime-minister,

¹ Journal to Stella, p. 124.

² It is worth observation, that the duchess ventures not to hint at this proceeding in her printed "Conduct;" it is found in her Hutchinson MSS.

³ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

and all their satellites. The lords spiritual, the peers and peeresses temporal, the knights of the shire, the burgesses, and legal authorities of Great Britain had all submitted to tory government,—all but the duchess of Marlborough, who held whiggism triumphant over her majesty's robes, gowns, caps, mantuas, furbelows, and fans, and retained in place, withal, all the functionaries therewith connected. At last, the queen and her new household agreed to wait patiently until the lord and master of the virago returned from his Flemish campaign; for, ill as she treated him, and vivaciously as she reviled him in their hours of domestic felicity, Marlborough was the only person who could manage his spouse. With this exception, the queen was entirely free from the family junta and the whig ministry. "I saw her," says Swift, in his journal of October 10, 1710, "pass to chapel, with all her tories about her, and not one whig. There was her uncle Rochester, with Buckingham, Shrewsbury, Berkeley of Stratton, lord-keeper Harcourt, and Mr. Harley."¹

The duke of Marlborough's personal behavior to her majesty had ever been that of submission, often using such expressions as "that he was the meanest of her instruments,—a poor worm,—her majesty's humblest creature." This the queen told to one of her lords in the household, who told it again to Swift.² Lord Dartmouth dreaded the effect of these self-abasing expressions on the mind of the queen after Marlborough returned, when delivered in the plaintive tone of voice peculiar to him, together with the singular power he was known to possess over every person he chose to influence. "Does your majesty think you can resist such persuasion?" asked Lord Dartmouth. "Yes," said queen Anne, "from *him* I can;"³ a remarkable admission, proving that the queen had no more regard for the sweetly- and softly-speaking husband than for his furious helpmate.

The queen had left Windsor for Hampton Court earlier

¹ Scott's Swift, vol. xv. p. 412.

² Swift's letter to archbishop King.

³ Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet.

than usual that autumn. Swift mentions attending a levee there, and seeing the paintings, and especially the cartoons, in the state-rooms, while she was there in September. Her majesty came to St. James's in October, and passed her time between that palace and Kensington till December. Christmas-day she spent at St. James's; she stayed very late at church, where she received the sacrament, and held a great court in the afternoon. Being a collar-day, the queen having recently installed the celebrated John duke of Argyle, at Windsor, as a knight of the Garter, he attended her in the costume of the order.

The queen kept the promise she had previously made to lord Dartmouth in regard to the duke of Marlborough, who seems to have tried every way to touch her feelings. He arrived in London from his annual campaign, December 28th, and taking a hackney-coach, drove direct to St. James's, and obtained a private interview for half an hour with her majesty. He lamented his late junction with the whigs, and declared, almost in the language of Wolsey, "that he was worn out with age, fatigues, and misfortunes;" assuring the queen, moreover, "that he was neither covetous nor ambitious." Her majesty, when describing the interview to her new ministers and confidants, said, "If she could have conveniently turned about, she must have laughed outright; and as it was, could hardly forbear doing so in his face."¹ Lord Dartmouth need not have anticipated the relenting of the queen's heart at this interview. When the duke of Marlborough had uttered all that his sagacity had suggested as most likely to mollify his royal mistress, the queen requested him to tell his wife that "She wished to receive back her gold keys as groom of the stole and mistress of the robes." The demand drew from the duke another remonstrance on the causes of such requisition. The queen made no other reply, but that "It was for her honor that the keys should be returned forthwith."² The duke earnestly entreated that the queen would delay the displacing of his wife until after the

¹ *Journal to Stella*.—Scott's *Swift*, vol. ii. p. 130, on St. John's information.

² *Coxe MSS.*, vol. xlv. ff. 192, 193; *Brit. Museum*.

peace, which must take place next summer, and then they would both retire together. The queen would not delay the surrender of the keys for one week. The duke of Marlborough threw himself on his knees,¹ and begged for a respite of ten days, in order to prepare the mind of his wife for a blow she would feel severely. The queen, with the utmost difficulty, consented to wait for three days; "but before two were passed," says the duchess, "the queen sent to insist that her keys should be restored to her." The duke of Marlborough instantly went to St. James's, having some urgent business respecting his command to transact with the queen. When he entered upon his errand, her majesty positively refused to proceed to the discussion of affairs until she received back her gold keys from the duchess.² Thus urged, the duke retired from the royal presence with the desperate intention of obtaining them. He went to his spouse, and told her she must surrender the queen's insignia; the duchess vehemently refused. The duke laid his commands on her to return the gold keys, which she did, after a stormy contest, by throwing them at his head.³ Marlborough was glad to obtain them on any terms; he caught up the keys, and immediately carried them to the queen, who received them of him, to use the words of a contemporary, "with far greater pleasure than if he had brought her the spoils of an enemy."—"The duchess," continues the same authority,⁴ "flew about the town in rage, and, with eyes and words full of vengeance, proclaimed how ill she had been treated by the queen."

The character and abilities of the queen were minutely discussed at the conclaves held at this crisis by the whig opposition; the duke of Marlborough was particularly called upon to declare, from his long and familiar acquaintance, what were the tendencies of the queen's mind and the bias of her genius. Marlborough pronounced her mind to be a blank, "that she had no will of her own, or any tendencies but such as could be directed by other people;

¹ Coxe MSS., vol. xlv. ff. 192, 193; Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

³ Cunningham, vol. iv. p. 391.

⁴ Ibid.

as for her abilities, she had a pretty knack of writing affectionate letters, and that was all she could do." Such is the testimony of lord-chancellor Cowper, who was present, and has recorded the conversation in the diary to which we have been indebted for a few pages of inedited history. Lord Cowper, the day after the surrender of the gold keys, went to visit the duke of Marlborough; he found him reclining on his bed, the duchess sitting by his bedside, with a large circle of company in the chamber. The reception seems to have been for condolence; the company were listening to the tirades of the duchess, who was railing very extravagantly against her majesty. Lord Cowper stood aghast at this scene, and whispered to the duke of Marlborough, "How surprised he was at all the duchess ventured to say against the queen. Although he had heard much of her temper, this was what he could not have believed." The duke, in his gentle pathetic voice, answered, "That nobody minded what the duchess said against the queen, or any one else, when she happened to be in a passion, which was pretty often the case, and there was no way to help it."¹ Among other vituperations, the duchess said (and there, it appears, she spoke truly for once), "That she had always hated and despised the queen; but as for that fool," and she pointed to her daughter Henrietta (lady Rialton), who stood by, weeping, "she did believe that she had always loved the queen, and that she did so still, for which she would never forgive her."² Perhaps there was some of the duchess's blunt, bold style of deceit in this matter, hoping that queen Anne, although dismissing herself for her misdeeds from the places of groom of the stole, mistress of the robes, and privy-purse, might bestow one or more of these rich benefits on her god-daughter,³ who was then under maternal persecution for loving her royal mistress so truly. Anne had suffered too much from the intolerable tyranny of the mother, to incur the risk of the yoke being reimposed by any of her family. Yet the

¹ Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. vi. p. 30.

² Ibid.

³ Queen Anne was Henrietta Rialton's sponsor.

daughters of the house of Marlborough were not then obliged to surrender their court-offices about the royal person; they actually held them for a year after their mother was dismissed.

The queen at last secured herself entirely from the duchess of Marlborough, by withdrawing from her every excuse for intrusion and insult, which was effected when the insignia of office were surrendered. The next proceeding of the enemy was to obtain from her majesty a confirmation of the grant of 2000*l.* per annum from the privy-purse which had been offered her when the commons refused to pension Marlborough. The queen had frequently reiterated the offer, and always refused to appropriate the money; yet the duchess repelled its confirmation, lest, perchance, some gratitude or acknowledgment of remuneration for past services should be expected in return. It is possible that the royal donor at last meant to take the duchess at her word, and retain the oft-rejected annuity, for when the claim was made by a friend of the duchess's, the queen was observed to blush and appear very uneasy;¹ she, nevertheless, consented that her gift should be valid, because the agent who transacted the affair had laid before her one of her own letters of affection to her former favorite, in which the acceptance was very earnestly pressed. When the duchess sent in her accounts to the queen, she placed the large arrears of this annuity to her own credit, writing at the bottom of the paper a copy of the queen's first letter wherein the grant was made; the words quoted (which must have looked very oddly at the bottom of an account-column) were, "*Pray make no more words about it, and either own or conceal it, as you like best, since I think the richest crown would never repay the services I have received from you.*"² The queen kept the accounts of the privy-purse for more than a fortnight, and then returned them to the duchess of Marlborough, with this notation, inscribed in her hand, at the bottom:—

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

² *Ibid.*; likewise printed in the Conduct.

"Feb. 1, 1711.

"I have examined these accounts and allow of them.

"ANNE, R."

The grand fosterer of every species of war and strife, whether public or in the recesses of the household of queen Anne, was thus forever separated from her majesty, and barred from her presence. "She preserved a tolerable reputation with respect to gallantry," says Swift, "for three Furies reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions; which were, sordid avarice, disdainful pride, and ungovernable rage. By the last of these, often breaking out in sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she had long alienated her sovereign's mind before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without some degree of wit, and has affected the character of it, by the usual mode of the times, in arguing against religion, and endeavoring to prove the doctrines of Christianity impossible. Let us imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favor, and employment, was capable of acting or attempting!"¹

Early in the year 1710-11 queen Anne divided between her friend the duchess of Somerset and her favorite Mrs. Masham the great offices which had been monopolized by the duchess of Marlborough. Her majesty made the duchess of Somerset her mistress of the robes and groom of the stole, and gave Mrs. Masham the care of her privy-purse.

¹ Swift's Four Years of Queen Anne, vol. v. p. 27. This portrait is not drawn with malice, for there is not one trait but may be illustrated by the duchess's own autographs.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER X.

Queen's intention of governing without ministers—Anecdotes of her feelings towards her brother—Her dialogue with the duke of Hamilton and Lockhart—Her interviews with the assassin Guiscard—Queen listens to private overtures for peace—Her secret reception of the envoy Mesnager—His character of her—Sudden death of her uncle, Rochester—Receives letters from her brother—Her dialogue with the duke of Buckingham—Conspiracy against her person—Her anxieties and illness—Dr. Swift presented to her—Her life and court at Windsor castle—Her illness—Her reception of courtiers in her bedchamber—Her public reception of the French envoys at Windsor—She announces her consent to treat for preliminaries of peace—Lyric of "Save the queen"—Queen removes to Hampton Court—Her letter to lord Oxford—Queen's message to the electress Sophia—Queen's extraordinary speech from the throne—Sends for the duchess of Marlborough—She refuses to come to the queen—Influence of the duchess of Somerset with the queen—Queen's interview with the duke of Marlborough—She dismisses him—Queen creates twelve new peers—Makes her favorite's husband lord Masham—Interviews between the queen, Mesnager, and lady Masham—Queen presents Mesnager with her picture—Queen appoints the bishop of Bristol her plenipotentiary at Utrecht.

STRANGE as the assertion may seem in these times, there were actually some indications, on the fall of the Marlborough faction, that queen Anne meant to be her own prime-minister,—one of the grand points that the Revolution was made in order to subvert. If it were possible to excuse an effort of such gigantic disproportion to queen Anne's paucity of ability and information, it would be by calling to remembrance that the great body of the people still believed that they were practically governed by their sovereign as in the times of old, when every monarch was expected to be at once his own premier and general. Queen Anne painfully felt that the responsibility rested on herself for all the rapacity of which her late corrupt ministry had

been guilty, in plundering the food of her miserable unpaid sailors, and both food and clothing of the soldiers; but how her majesty imagined that she could arrange her affairs personally for the prevention of such evils, it is difficult to divine.

There is no sneer meant in these words of Swift; he speaks in sober earnest when he says, "I have reason to think that *they* [Harley and St. John] will endeavor to prevail on the queen to put her affairs *more* in the hands of a ministry than she does at present." In another passage of his correspondence he mentions, apparently without joking or jeering, "that the queen, the duchess of Somerset, and Abigail Masham meant to govern the country without the assistance of either whigs or tories." At the crisis of the dismissal of the Marlborough family,¹ it is certain that, among other parties, the queen had called around her many persons devoted to the Jacobite interest, who had willingly tendered her their assistance in the full belief that, if once freed from the domination of those who held her in restraint, her first object would be the restoration of her brother; yet some doubts exist whether, while she took advantage of the support of his partisans, her intentions were to do what they expected.

It is probable that the mind of queen Anne inclined her, at times, to her brother; but, if the duchess of Marlborough is to be believed, she affected doubts regarding his identity, which it is most evident the duchess herself did not pretend to feel, for even while reviling him, and proposing to get up a cry against him, she always calls him the "prince of Wales." In one of her letters she observes, "When I saw that the queen had such a partiality to those that I knew to be Jacobites, I asked her, one day, 'Whether she had a mind to give up the crown?' for if it had been in her conscience not to wear it, I do solemnly protest I would not

¹ At this period of disorganization more than one of the greatest offices of state were put in commission; thus seven commissioners performed the functions of lord treasurer or premier, directed by the sovereign. As this was the case when Swift made the remark, it is possible that he alluded to it. For the fact of the seven commissioners, see Cunningham's History of Great Britain, vol. ii.

have struggled as I did ; but she told me, 'She was not sure that the prince of Wales *was* her brother.' " The queen added, which was certainly the truth, "that if he were, his royalty could not be recognized without danger to the religion of the country."¹

Among other anecdotes on this delicate and curious question, it is said that marshal Tallard, who was at that time a prisoner in England, and secretly an accredited negotiator for peace, was often engaged in conferences with the queen's confidants respecting the identity of the unfortunate prince of Wales ; but he always silenced those who attempted to say that he was a supposititious heir, by gravely proposing a matrimonial alliance between him and queen Anne.² The start of natural horror with which such proposal was always first received revealed the secret conviction of those who affected not to believe in the affinity of Anne and James.

One day, when queen Anne was, according to her frequent custom, listening to the debates in the house of lords, the name of her unfortunate brother being introduced, she was put out of countenance even by what one of her own ministers, Strafford, the secretary of state, said, and, perceiving that every eye was turned on her, she drew the curtain of her box in great confusion.³ The most positive evidence that queen Anne felt a secret interest in her banished relatives comes from the reminiscences of her brother's stanch partisan, Lockhart of Cornwath. This gentleman chose to serve his master, not by attending him at St. Germain's, but by retaining his place as member for Edinburgh in the united parliament. On one of these occasions he carried up an address from the barons and freeholders of the county of Edinburgh, the gist of which was sympathy "with the grievance her majesty had represented," as he says, "separately and privately, to several of the members of both houses of parliament, 'that she was denied by her ministers the liberty allowed to the

¹ Narrative of the duchess of Marlborough ; dated St. Albans, 1709.

² MS. Memorials of Mary of Modena, in Archives au Royaume de France.

³ Ibid.

meanest housekeeper in her dominions,—namely, the liberty of choosing her own domestic servants.’” Queen Anne meant “householder,” but, by an unlucky tendency to perversion of speech, her ideas dwelt on housekeepers. Her favorite kinsman, the duke of Hamilton, introduced his Jacobite friend to her majesty with his monarchical address. Lockhart of Carnwath read it aloud to her. Her majesty smiled, and seemed well pleased with its tenor. “She told me,” said Lockhart,¹ “that ‘although I had almost always opposed her measures, she did not doubt of my affection for her person; therefore she hoped I would not concur in the design of sending away Mrs. Masham, or bringing over the prince of Hanover.’ I was surprised; but recovering myself, I assured her ‘that I should never be accessary to imposing any hardship or affront upon her. And as for bringing the prince of Hanover, her majesty might be assured, from the address I had just read, that I should not be acceptable to my constituents if I gave my consent, either now or at any time hereafter.’ Her majesty again smiled, and I withdrew.” His friend, the duke of Hamilton, gave him information, however, of the further remarks of the queen, who turned to him, saying, “I believe Lockhart is an honest man, and a fair dealer.”—“The duke of Hamilton assured her, ‘that I loved her majesty, and all her *father’s bairns*.’”²

During the most arduous period of the settlement of the queen’s new ministry, the country was thrown into the utmost agitation by an occurrence which was supposed to have threatened the lives of two of the most popular persons in it, being her majesty and her statesman Harley. That any one ever thought of injuring or killing the harmless royal matron, is scarcely credible; yet her loving subjects thought that she had been in imminent danger from the knife of the demoniac, who, a few hours afterwards, stabbed her prime-minister. Since the Reformation, the sovereigns and leaders of the English government had, in many instances, been betrayed into great inconveniences, by fancying that every ecclesiastic of the Roman Catholic

¹ Lockhart of Carnwath’s Papers, vol. i. p. 317.

² Ibid.

religion who forsook his church and fled to England was a sincere convert to the Protestant faith, and deserved to be petted and patronized. The abbé Guiscard, a profligate of the darkest dye, who had rendered his native country far too hot to hold him, made a great merit of renouncing at the same time papistry, his abbacy near Cevennes, and the punishment due to his enormities. Being considered a very promising martyr and convert, he was offered high preferment in our church; but as his vocation was decidedly not the priestly office, he obtained the command of a foreign regiment in the English service, partly composed of William III.'s disbanded Dutch guards, and partly of French refugees. According to Swift and some other contemporaries, Guiscard's regiment possessed the unenviable reputation of being the wickedest body of men in Europe. For the good of mankind, this band of destructives were almost cut to pieces at the battle of Almanza, where their priest-colonel, Guiscard, performed prodigies of valor.

Queen Anne thought that Guiscard, on account of his warlike exploits, ought to be allowed a retiring pension of 500*l.* per annum; her financier, Harley, cut it down to 400*l.* Upon this, the double traitor offered himself as a spy to his old master, Louis XIV., at the same time making an interest with queen Anne's personal attendants to procure him a private interview. Her majesty actually gave Guiscard audience the evening before he stabbed Harley.¹ So completely unguarded was the queen, that she held the conference with this desperado with no one near her but Mrs. Kirk, who was usually asleep when on duty as lady in waiting. The priest-colonel limited his conversation with her majesty to passionate entreaties for augmentation of his pension, and complaints of ill-treatment. As it had been the queen's wish that Guiscard should have a regular pension of 500*l.* per annum, it is not improbable that she mentioned the circumstance to him, and admitted that she was thwarted in her intentions by Harley or St. John. The next morning, March 8, 1710-11, Guiscard was arrested by a messenger, while airing himself in St. James's park.

¹ Lord Dartmouth's Notes.

He was brought before the privy council, then sitting in the council-chamber at the Cockpit, and accused of his treasonable correspondence with France. While he was before the council, he stabbed Harley with a penknife; but being set upon by the privy councillors, Guiscard was so severely wounded that he died in Newgate some days afterwards. Every one, at the time, believed that queen Anne had run a great risk of assassination from this man; and if she had expressed to him an opinion opposed to his interests, little doubt can exist that such would have been the case, from the utter desperation of his character. She had assuredly taken some alarm on his arrest, for St. John told Swift that the queen enclosed herself in the palace. Although March 8, 1711, was the anniversary of her accession, she did not go to church, neither did she see company, according to her usual practice of making that day one of high festivity. When Guiscard was dying, the queen sent two physicians and two surgeons to attend him in Newgate. He died with some horrible crime unconfessed torturing his mind, which persons fond of the marvellous supposed was his intention to murder queen Anne, but it evidently pertained to his previous career in France.

Harley remained long in danger of death; meantime, his life was deemed of the greatest value by the queen and country, since he had declared that he was in possession of a secret of finance, which would restore the bankrupt state of the revenue to credit and affluence. The scheme he meditated was the foundation of the present funds; when revealed to the queen's uncle, Lord Rochester, that nobleman treated the plan with the utmost contempt. If Rochester had lived longer, Harley must have withdrawn from the ministry. Meantime, a treaty,¹ known to few of the ministry, and carefully concealed from the public, was proceeding in the recesses of the palace; the queen was engaged personally in this intrigue, if so harsh a name ought to be applied to it. The period has been previously mentioned when a secret negotiation between the queen, marshal Tal-

¹ Berwick's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 114. Somerville's *Hist. of Great Britain*; reign of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 490.

lard, and abbé Gualtier (chaplain to the imperial ambassador) commenced. Gualtier, who officiated as a priest, having become acquainted with the countess of Jersey when she attended the imperial chapel, being a Roman Catholic, she recommended him to her husband as a fit person to be employed in forwarding intelligence to France. The acknowledgment of the queen's title to the throne of Great Britain was, of course, one of the first articles stipulated in the secret preliminary; there was not made the slightest difficulty of it.

Anne having consented, by the agency of Lord Jersey, to negotiate the peace, the acute diplomatist, Mesnager, who had long been waiting at the Hague till the queen was freed from the whigs, arrived in London for the purpose of private conference the very day that all England was in an uproar with the attempted assassination of Harley by Guiscard. Mesnager had many opportunities of studying the character of queen Anne, and seems, on the whole, to have formed a favorable opinion of her. He says, "The queen was mild and merciful in her disposition, and apt to believe every one about her faithful and honest. Among her many good qualities, she was a passionate lover of the common people, as they generally were of her; she was not easier to be deceived by any pretences than those alleged to be measures for the safety and prosperity of her people."

The effusion of blood and the expenditure of treasure in the continental wars, when fully represented to her, made a most painful impression on her mind, which all the pageantry with which the recurrence of repeated brilliant victories was celebrated could not remove. She ardently desired peace, and at last began to remonstrate with those who brought her papers to sign relating to the carrying on of the warlike preparations for the next year; and on one occasion it was observed, that when she placed her signature she shed tears, and heaving a great sigh said, "Oh, God! when will this spilling of blood be at an end?"¹ In

¹ Words of the queen to nearly the same effect have already been quoted from the English historians, Ralph, Tindal, and Cunningham. It would seem that they were often on her lips.

this state of feeling, Anne was well disposed to listen to any reasonable overtures for peace, especially after the disgrace of Marlborough and his party. It was lord Jersey,¹ queen Anne's lord chamberlain of the household, who introduced Mesnager to the secret interview with her majesty, the particulars of which are thus narrated by the envoy himself:—"The next morning he [lord Jersey] took me in his coach to Kensington, where I believe the queen went for the occasion, for the court was not there, and where I had the honor to kiss her majesty's hand. After which, my lord speaking privately to the queen, her majesty turned about to me, and said, 'Sir, lord Jersey here,' directing herself towards his lordship, 'has given me an account of what steps you have taken; you may let him hear what you have to say.' I bowed, and was going to say something, though I hardly knew what, when her majesty turned abruptly from me to my lord again; so I stopped. My lord spoke a good while to the queen again; and when he had done, the queen turned to me and said, 'Tis a good work; pray God *succeed* [prosper] you in it. I am sure I long for peace; I hate this dreadful work of blood!' At which her majesty shook her head two or three times, saying some other words which I could not hear, which I was sorry for. She then retired, and we withdrew." ²

¹ Brother of Elizabeth Villiers, countess of Orkney, mistress to William III., the same who undertook the unsuccessful mission to James II. to persuade him to suffer his son's adoption by king William; he was a Jacobite. He died August, 1711. His wife was heiress to the well-known Chiffinch.

² Minutes of the Negotiation of M. Mesnager at the court of England, published 1717, pp. 133, 134. Two historical authorities of weight in their centuries, Mr. Hallam in our own, and Tindal in the preceding one, object to the work as one of Defoe's compositions, on the very rational ground that the original has never been discovered in French. It is very possible that the work might be edited by Defoe, and yet contain information from no printed French original, nor from any manuscript now in existence; for that mysterious politician was permitted to visit Harley earl of Oxford, when prisoner in the Tower, for the ostensible purpose of reading to him in MS. his beautiful romance of Robinson Crusoe.—See sir Henry Ellis, Historical Letters; Camden Society. Defoe had, therefore, every opportunity of editing the ruined premier's reminiscences of Mesnager's mission, or even notes regarding that envoy which might have been in his possession. The volume entitled Minutes of a Negotiation of M. Mesnager, is, on the whole, laudatory and exculpatory of Harley earl of

"The death of the earl of Rochester," observes Mesnager, "was a great blow to the cause of the Stuarts; for such was his feeling of the inviolability of the line of ancient sovereigns, that although his own niece, Anne, who was on the throne, persuaded him to aid her government in the hour of her great need, he did not conceal from her his opinion that she had no lawful right to the crown she wore. He is even said to have told her so in plain terms; yet she appointed him the president of her council." He appears to have accepted office with the view of restoring the sceptre to the disinherited representative of the royal house of Stuart, the son of his old master and brother-in-law, king James, and for no other object did this staunch loyalist condescend to sit at the helm for his own niece. "An apoplectic fit snatched him away, May 2, 1711, before any step could be taken for the accomplishment of his intentions."—"Rochester dead?" exclaimed Louis XIV. "Then there is not a man of probity and counsel equal to him left in the world."¹ The duke of Buckingham succeeded the uncle of queen Anne as president of her council,² a circumstance alone sufficient to invalidate the absurd falsehood that he had recently attacked the queen in the house of lords.

A correspondence between the queen and her brother, begun under the auspices of her uncle Rochester, was, after his death, carried on by the assistance of her lord president, Buckingham. Her brother, James Stuart, called by himself the chevalier de St. George, and by his enemies the Pretender, addressed to her the following letter:—

Oxford, and is written in a gossiping English idiom of that era, with some passages of valuable information, diluted in a great quantity of verbiage for the purposes of book-making. Yet the actual information it contains is genuine, for it is confirmed by many contemporary manuscripts, of the existence of which the writer knew not. These are to be found in the Stuart Papers, Berwick's Memoirs, Swift's Correspondence, and in the Arbuthnot Papers in the possession of W. Baillie, Esq., as yet unprinted.

¹ Mesnager.

² Cunningham's History of Great Britain. Toone's Chronology.

THE CHEVALIER ST. GEORGE TO (HIS SISTER) QUEEN ANNE.¹

"May, 1711.

"MADAME:—

"The violence and ambition of the enemies of our family and of the monarchy have too long kept at distance those who, by all the obligations of nature and duty, ought to be firmly united, and have hindered us of the proper means of a better understanding between us, which could not fail to produce the most happy effects to ourselves, to our family, and to our bleeding country. But, whatever the success may be, I have resolved now to break through all reserve, and to be the first in an endeavor so just and necessary. The natural affection I bear you, and that king James our father had for you till his last breath, the consideration of our mutual interests, honor, and safety, and the duty I owe to God and my country, are the true motives that persuade me to write to you, and to do all that is possible to come to a perfect union with you.

"And you may be assured, madame, that though I can never abandon but with my life my own just right, which you know is unalterably settled by the fundamental laws of the land, yet I am more desirous to owe to you than to any living the recovery of it. For yourself a work so just and glorious is reserved. The voice of God and nature calls you to it; *the promises you made to the king your father enjoin it*; the preservation of our family, and the preventing of unnatural wars, require it; and the public good and welfare of our country recommend it to you, to rescue it from present and future evils, which must, to the latest posterity, involve the nation in blood and confusion till the succession be again settled in the right line.

"I am satisfied, madame, that if you will be guided by your own inclinations, you will readily comply with so just and fair a proposal as to prefer your own brother, the last male of our name, to the electress of Hanover, the remotest relation we have, whose friendship you have no reason to rely on or to be fond of, and who will leave the government to foreigners, of another language, of another interest. . . .

"In the mean time, I am ready to give all the security that can be desired that it is my unalterable resolution to make the law of the land the rule of my government, to preserve every man's rights, liberty, and property equally with the rights of the crown; and to secure and maintain those of the church of England in all their just rights and privileges, as by law established, and to grant such a toleration to dissenters as the parliament shall think fit.

"Your own good nature, madame, and your natural affection to a brother from whom you never received any injury, cannot but incline your heart to do him justice, and as it is in your power, I cannot doubt of your good inclinations."

Her brother's letter proceeds with entreating her to send to him an efficient agent to mediate an accommodation between them, and concludes thus:—

"And now, madame, as you tender your own honor and happiness, and the preservation and re-establishment of our ancient royal family, the safety and

¹ Macpherson; Stuart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 223–225.

welfare of a brave people, who are almost sinking under present weights, and have reason to fear greater, who have no reason to complain of me, and whom I must still and do love as my own, I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of composing our differences, by which only we can hope for those good effects which will make us both happy, yourself more glorious than all the other parts of your life, and your memory dear to all posterity."

After reading her brother's letter, the queen expressed herself to Buckingham in terms which comprised the plain statement of the cause of his exile.¹ "How can I serve him, my lord?" she asked. "You know well that a papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace. Why has the example of the father no weight with the son? He prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom; he must thank himself, therefore, for his exclusion. He knows that I love my own family better than any other: all would be easy, if he would enter the pale of the church of England. Advise him to change his religion, my lord, as that only can change the opinions of mankind in his favor."² Buckingham communicated the queen's observations to her brother, whose answer was as follows:—

"I know my grandfather, Charles I., and my father too, had always a high opinion of the principles of the church of England relating to monarchy, and experience sufficiently shows that the crown was never struck at but she also felt the blow; and though some of her chief professors have deviated, we must not measure the principles of that church by the actions of some individuals.

"Plain-dealing is best in all things, especially in matters of religion, and as I am resolved never to dissemble in religion, so I shall never tempt others to do it; and as well as I am satisfied of the truth of my own religion, I shall never look the worse upon any persons because they chance to differ from me, nor shall I refuse, in due time and place, to hear what they have to say on this subject. But they must not take it ill if I use the same liberty that I allow to others,—to adhere to the religion that in conscience I think the best. I may reasonably expect that liberty of conscience for myself which I deny to none."³

These letters, however unexceptionable in a moral point of view, impressed every one attached to the church of England, whether the queen or her confidants, with the conviction that young James Stuart was as inflexible in his adherence to his religion as his father had been. Such

¹ The duke of Buckingham was confidentially treated by Queen Anne as a friend and brother, which, indeed, he had now become, by his marriage with her half-sister Catharine, daughter of James II. and Catharine Sedley.

² Macpherson; Stuart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 223–225.

³ Ibid.

being the original cause of the transfer of the sceptre from their line, while that cause remained reason showed that all attempts for restoration were hopeless. The queen, if some obscure yet probable historical indications may be trusted, felt secret hopes that her young sister, the princess Louisa Stuart, might prove less firm in her profession of the Roman Catholic creed than her brother. In such supposition she was utterly mistaken; yet she seems never to have entertained the least intention of aiding her brother or sister's claims, if they refused compliance with the church of England then established by statute law. Her first stipulation, as Mesnager is obliged to confess, was for the Protestant succession of the house of Hanover,—a stipulation which it was that envoy's object to drive from her mind. Still it is an undoubted historical fact, that if the young prince or princess of the house of Stuart would have renounced the Roman Catholic religion, their kindred of the house of Hanover would not have opposed their claims on the throne of Great Britain. A remarkable letter of the princess Sophia proves this assertion beyond all dispute.¹

Meantime, the duke of Marlborough, while his queen was earnestly seeking to negotiate peace in the secret corners of her palace, was making almost unopposed incursions into France, by crossing with his victorious troops the frontier line at Bourchain. Lord Hertford told David Hume, "that towards the end of queen Anne's reign, when the whig ministers were turned out of all their places at home, and the duke of Marlborough still continued in the command of the army abroad, the discarded ministers met, and wrote a letter, which was signed by lord Somers, lord Townshend, lord Sunderland, and sir Robert Walpole, 'desiring the duke of Marlborough to bring over the troops he could depend upon; and that they would seize the queen's person, and

¹ The letters of the princess Sophia are completely conclusive on this head, and the conduct of George I. is most honorable, from first to last, despite of all temptations from England. Lord Dartmouth has quoted the princess Sophia's letter, recommending the young prince to the consideration of the British ministry, in his *Notes on Burnet*. See also the *Life of Mary Beatrice*, vol. vi.

proclaim the elector of Hanover regent.' The duke of Marlborough replied, that 'It was madness to think of such a thing.'"¹ There were two mighty bulwarks which guarded the helpless queen from such outrages. One was, the deep affection of her people at large; the other, the honorable abstinence from any species of treachery which distinguished her kindred of the house of Hanover. George I. possessed no personal qualifications to make any biographer enthusiastic in his praise; but who can, on the perusal of the sources of history, deny him the credit of being a man of unsullied honor in regard to his transactions with England? It has been shown that Sarah of Marlborough lavishes on his noble-minded mother such terms as "fantastic idiot,"—terms which must be resolved into the highest praise when the motives of the reviler are analyzed.

Queen Anne's views of the terms on which peace could be concluded were intimated to Louis XVI. by Mesnager, when that minister withdrew from England after the sudden death of her uncle, lord Rochester. His death likewise left the path clear to the advancement of Robert Harley, whom her majesty raised to the peerage soon after his recovery from the wound inflicted by the knife of the priest-colonel Guiscard. Harley was created earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and received from the hands of her majesty the most potent and envied of places, being that of lord treasurer. Some secrets of the palace are revealed by Mesnager, or the person who has edited his reminiscences. The queen was so much alarmed when stormy debates occurred in parliament, lest any disastrous minority should cast her once more in the power of the Marlborough junta, that her ladies, when she was waiting for intelligence, could not prevent her from being oppressed by fainting-fits.² Mesnager observed "that, let her chagrin be ever so great, the new lord treasurer, Harley, always had it in his power to cheer her by his representations, and generally left her composed and happy." The reaction of suspense and

¹ "Horace Walpole confirmed the truth of this anecdote, which he had heard his father repeat often and often."—*Life of Hume*, by Burton, vol. ii. p. 501.

² Mesnager's *Minutes of Negotiation*.

anxiety in the queen's mind from bodily sufferings, which produced hysterical affections, proved symptomatic of the failure of her already shattered constitution. Soon after commenced that series of perpetual relapses into ill health which marks the history of queen Anne from the autumn of 1711 to the summer of 1714.

Dr. Swift was presented to the queen about the close of 1711, and became an assiduous attendant at her court, having been deputed by the dignitaries of the Irish church to lay before the throne of her majesty their humble petition for extending her bounty of the first-fruits to that church. Many persons attributed the grant, not to queen Anne, but to the duke of Ormonde. It was observed, nevertheless, that the duke denied all share in the action. "He is the honestest gentleman alive," said the prime minister to Swift; "it is the queen alone that did it, and Ormonde declares she alone shall have the merit."¹ Nearly nine years had passed away before the established church in Ireland received the like benefit bestowed by the queen's free charity on the establishment in England. It is well known that Anne was anxious to extend it to her realm of Ireland, yet she never could rescue the funds from the hard grasp of the Marlborough government. The first-fruits had been restored to the English church by her majesty during the short period when her uncle, Lawrence, earl of Rochester, was her prime minister after her accession, but she was forced to wait until freed from the whigs before she could extend her generous purpose to Ireland.

The bracing air of Windsor castle being recommended for the disorganized health of the queen, her bodily strength rallied sufficiently to enable her to renew her former hunting exploits. Her majesty, it must be owned, followed the chase, not only in a very strange equipage, but took very odd seasons for that amusement. Like queen Elizabeth, she hunted under the blazing suns of July, although the ripened harvest was on the ground. In the case of queen Elizabeth, England being almost a pastoral country, and moreover the royal chases being of greater extent, her

¹ Swift's letter to archbishop King, of Dublin.—Scott's Swift, vol. xv. p. 465.

majesty might ride as far as her inclination would carry her, without doing much injury to the standing corn; but in the eighteenth century, a royal hunt in the month of July must have carried devastation with it on every hunting-day. Hence we find in the essays of the last century, both in France and England, the most piteous representations of the destruction to cultivation by corn being wasted and trampled down by hunters,—a complaint that must be inexplicable to those who are ignorant of the cruel alteration of hunting-seasons which had been made since the notation in the Anglo-Saxon calendars of the “hunter’s monaths,” periods including autumn and winter, when corn is low in the earth and actually benefited by pressure, to which seasons the superior moral justice of our present era has limited, or rather restored, the chase.¹

“The queen was abroad to-day to hunt,” says Swift in his journal,² “but finding it disposed to rain, she kept in her coach. She hunts in a chaise with one horse, which she drives herself, and drives furiously like Jehu, and is a mighty hunter like Nimrod.” A week afterwards the queen hunted the stag through the meridian heat till four in the afternoon; she drove forty miles that day³ (August 7th), and being beyond her dinner hour, the board of green-cloth did not dine until the late hour of five o’clock, owing to her majesty’s Jehu-like drivings. Next day the queen was well enough to hold a drawing-room, “but as few at-

¹ This appears to have been effected in England by the kindly feeling of George III. The last complaints are reiterated in the popular work of Thomas Day, called *Sandford and Merton*. It is certain there would have been no revolution in France, further than the Paris barriers, if the abuses of the chase, which were too many in the middle ages, had not been exaggerated by the nobility, and more intolerably by the aristocracy of wealth. Louis XVI. had not the good sense to alter his hunting-seasons; in his diary at the *hôtel de Soubise*, there are constant diurnal notices of “hunted the stag,” in the same destructive seasons as did queen Anne and queen Elizabeth. Among the very few instances that can be brought of injury offered to the lower classes by the royal line of Stuart, this summer-hunting was the worst. The revolution of 1688 altered it not, but exaggerated it; neither the accession of the kindred line of Hanover. It was probably the love our good king George III. had of farming, which made him feel for the agriculturist; for the bad practice can be traced to his times, and no further.

² *Journal to Stella*, July 31, 1711.

³ *Ibid.*

tended," observes Swift, "her majesty sent for us into her bedchamber, where we made our bows, and stood about twenty of us round the room, while she looked at us with her fan in her mouth, and once a minute said two or three words to some that were nearest to her, and then, being told dinner was ready, went out. I dined at her majesty's board of green-cloth, by Mr. Scarborough's invitation, who is in waiting. It is much the best table in England, and costs the queen a thousand pounds a month while she is at Windsor or Hampton Court, and is the only mark of magnificence or royal hospitality that I can see in the queen's household. It is designed to entertain foreign ministers and people of quality, who come to see the queen, and have no place to dine." The noble room called that of the board of green-cloth still remains at Hampton Court, with the table on which this royal hospitality was offered.

"Dr. Arbuthnot, the queen's favorite physician," continues the journal, "went out with me to see a place they have made for a famous horse-race to-morrow, where the queen will come. We overtook Miss Forester, one of her majesty's maids of honor, on her palfrey, taking the air; we made her go along with us. The queen passed us coming back, and Miss Forester stood by the roadside like us, with her hat off, while her majesty went by." This was an affectation of Miss Forester's, which she supposed was in unison with her riding-habit, for the maid of honor wore that dress which the Spectator soon after made unpopular. Swift seems to have taken a dislike to the courtly belle for no other reason, for he adds, "I did not like her, though she be a toast, and was dressed like a man,"¹—that is, in the riding-habit of the time of queen Anne, which comprised hat, coat, waistcoat, periwig, and cravat, *one* flowing garment being the only variation from a complete cavalier's garb.²

¹ This beautiful maid of honor of queen Anne was one of the latest instances of the infantine marriages, which had been among the worse customs of the middle ages. She had been wedded to sir George Downing's young son before she was thirteen: the bride and bridegroom applied for a divorce, and obtained it.

² There is a very fine portrait at Ham house of a most beautiful countess of

The queen went to the races, which were probably held at Ascot, only at a different time of the year from the modern arrangement. The Sunday afterwards the queen held a drawing-room, after she had been at church. One of the prebendaries of Windsor, lord Willoughby de Broke, who attended queen Anne's reception, had inherited a peerage; it was noticed that he would sit in the house of lords with his clergyman's gown on. In the days of queen Anne, no clergyman ever appeared in the street, or in his own house when dressed for the day, without the black gown, similar to that in which they at present preach. It was their everyday garment then, and for half a century afterwards. Notwithstanding the frequent occurrence of driving herself many miles when hunting in July and August, queen Anne was laid up with the gout in the middle of the latter month. About the same time she ordered 20,000*l.* to be paid for the furtherance of the Marlborough palace at Woodstock, supposed to be as a reward for one of the brilliant successes with which the duke of Marlborough was pursuing the very war her majesty was intensely desirous of concluding. The queen had had lord Jersey named one of her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht the very day before the demise¹ of that noble, which occurred in the beginning of August. He was removed from the scene of action by a death as sudden as that of her uncle Rochester, whom he survived but a few weeks. After the decease of these experienced statesmen, the Jacobite interest about the queen was only supported by the duke of Buckingham and a few ladies. Her majesty placed the privy-seal, vacant by his demise, in the hands of Dr. Robinson, afterwards bishop of Bristol.

The queen continued ill with the gout through August.

Dysart, contemporary with this era, or a little later. She wears a small cocked hat, three-cornered, just like a coachman's full-dress livery hat, bound with broad gold lace, the point stuck full in front over a white-powdered, long-flowing periwig; a Mechlin cravat, tied like a man's; a long white coat, like a coachman's livery-coat; a flapped waistcoat and a habit-petticoat. She holds a riding-whip of a very mannish species.

¹ He had been lord chamberlain to King William, and held office when William died. He was lord chamberlain to queen Anne till 1704, when he went out with the tories. See Collins's Peerage.

She did not come to St. George's chapel, or stir from her bed; she received the sacrament there, for she always communicated the first Sunday of the month. Her majesty was unable to quit her bedchamber as late as the 9th of September. Her receptions took place within it, the company, among whom was Dr. Swift, being introduced while she was seated in her arm-chair; the crowd was so great that those only could see her majesty who were in the circle next to her bed.¹

The first important steps taken by the queen for the foundation of peace were revealed rather prematurely. Matthew Prior, the poet, had been despatched to France, to confer in secret negotiation concerning the claims of Mary Beatrice for the arrears of her dower; likewise respecting the disposal of the chevalier de St. George. The official who went by the designation of the "whig spy, Mackey," held a place in the customs at Dover and Deal; he seized the envoy on his return, under pretence of duty, and detained him prisoner until his errand was well known to the whole of England. The mission of Prior was followed by the return of the secret envoys of France, who soon made their appearance in the interior of the queen's palace, and in the domestic circles of her ministers.²

The queen, being recovered, had frequent parties of cards and dancing during her stay at Windsor. One of her nobles, lord Lanesborough, who always got rid of his fits of the gout by elaborate curvets and caperings, strongly recommended the same regimen to her majesty, despite of her increasing corpulence and infirmities; but queen Anne had relinquished dancing thirty years earlier than did queen Elizabeth. Pope has, however, perpetuated the memory of the adviser, if not of the advice, in this line:—

"See honest Lanesborough dancing with the gout."

Mrs. Masham had been forced to relinquish her close attendance on the queen, on account of her accouchement; in consequence of her absence, the new ministry became

¹ Swift's Diary, and Journal to Stella, September, 1711.

² Swift's Journal to Stella; Scott's edition, vol. ii. p. 363.

greatly alarmed at the advances that the duchess of Somerset made in her majesty's favor. Dr. Swift was at this time in close attendance on the queen's ministers at Windsor, writing up the tories, and writing down the whigs. Dr. Arbuthnot concocted with him a *jeu d'esprit*, that was more likely to give offence to queen Anne than anything they could have contrived for that purpose. "Arbuthnot," says Swift, "made me draw up a sham subscription for a book called 'A History of the Maids of Honor since Henry VIII.'s time, showing they make the best Wives; with a list of all the maids of honor since,' etc.; to pay a crown down, and another crown on delivery of the book, according to the common forms of these things. We got a friend to write it out fair, because my hand is known, and sent it to the maids of honor when they came to supper. It will be a good court jest, and the queen will certainly have it." More merry than wise, perhaps. If the dauntless dean¹ had not remembered, yet the beloved physician, Arbuthnot, might have recollected, that queen Anne and her sister, Mary II., were the daughters of a lady who had been a maid of honor; and that the queen might feel more alarm than pleasure at the proposed series of biographies. Neither Swift nor his coadjutor knew more on the subject than that Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, and Katharine Howard had been maids of honor; had they known that the mother of Henry VIII. was daughter to a queen who had once been maid of honor to Margaret of Anjou, perhaps these doughty biographers would not have limited their undertaking to the days of Henry VIII.

Queen Anne ratified her consent to enter into preliminaries of peace at Windsor castle, October 8, 1711. At supper, on the evening of the same day, her majesty publicly mentioned "that she had agreed to treat with France; and that she did not doubt but that, in a little time, she should be able to announce to her people that which she had so long desired for the sake of humanity, a general peace for Europe." The secretary of state, St. John, enter-

¹ He was not appointed to the deanery of St. Patrick, Dublin, till more than a year afterwards.

tained, at his apartments in Windsor castle, a small party, consisting of Prior, Swift, "the two private ministers from France, and a French priest, whose names I know not," adds Swift, "but they have come about the peace. The names Mr. secretary called them were, I suppose, feigned; they were good, rational men." They were, in reality, M. Mesnager, with whom was now associated in the treaty the infamous profligate, abbé Dubois, tutor to the young duke of Orleans; by the priest, Swift meant the Abbé Gualtier, ex-chaplain to the imperial embassy in London, who had negotiated the arrival of the other two. "The queen is in a mighty good humor," wrote Swift, "and all this news is a particular secret."¹ It was not likely to remain so when he wrote every particular he could glean, and transmitted it by the post to Ireland. The queen's hopes and fears concerning peace, and the satisfaction at the prospects the envoys gave her, were all detailed in this journal.²

Windsor castle was the scene of the public presentation of the envoys from France to queen Anne: they had afterwards apartments assigned them at Hampton Court, whither her majesty came to reside, as the darkening days made journeys to Windsor difficult to her ministers. Here, report said, the queen was afflicted with two or three political fits of the gout, in order to secure that retirement for their difficult and delicate mission, which the usual routine of regal life could scarcely permit. It was part of the business of Mesnager to propose to the queen certain arrangements, whereby the chevalier St. George, her brother, should wink at the acknowledgment of her title by the king of France, and should retire peaceably to some neighboring prince's dominions, provided he were not molested there by his powerful sister, or rather by her nominal power.³ Mesnager was charged by Louis XIV., when he had thus smoothed the way for peace, to assail queen Anne by every

¹ Journal to Stella; Scott's Swift, p. 374.

² Which, however, minutely identifies the ambassades of Mesnager.

³ Torcy and Prior's Despatches, quoted in the notes of Parl. History of Queen Anne.

means which could melt her heart towards the distresses of her own family, and pave the way for their restoration. If it be any merit in queen Anne's character, it must be owned that she did not, either publicly or privately, give encouragement to these envoys on any other basis than merely the restoration of peace to her miserable and bankrupt population; and that if she were willing that her brother should succeed her, it was on the old condition that he embraced the established religion of the church of England. All queen Anne's practical Jacobitism was comprised in her secret and very tardy admission (not acknowledgment) to the envoys, that he *was* her brother,—not that she avowed her share in the vile intrigue that denied his being the son of his own mother; her ultimatum of Jacobitism was now and then speaking of him, in private, as if consanguinity existed between them.

And here the historical question again arises,—did France ever sincerely mean the restoration of the Stuarts? Never, must be the answer of all those who have studied the sources of history, not by contemplating isolated fractions, indicative of kindly private feeling in this king or that queen, but by comparing the conduct of that nation since their great king Henry IV. saw, with the jealous eyes of long-sighted genius, the mighty results of the peaceable union of the British islands under one sovereign.¹ Since that hour the French had, by means of calumny and bribery, nursed civil and religious wars, that had made each lineal heir of Great Britain for nearly a century, by turns, a wretched suppliant at the throne of France; and as surely as Richelieu bribed the rebels of Charles I. into civil war, or as Barillon bribed the *patriot* revolutionists, Sidney and Hampden, into tearing the vitals of their country by concocting fictitious plots, were the envoys of France sent to gain peace, but never to restore any family peace to the unfortunate Stuarts. Louis XIV. was aged, tottering on the brink of the grave, and might possibly have attained

¹ No other inference can be drawn from the malicious and calumnious series of French embassades which occur from the accession of James I. to the fall of Charles I.

the wisdom to perceive the utter uselessness of all the wicked wars and intrigues which had spread unutterable misery over France and England; but even if he were sincere in his instructions to Mesnager, the appointment of Dubois as a coadjutor in the mission of that envoy proves that there was a power behind his despotic throne by far too mighty for him. Dubois had been the governor, and was the ruler, body and soul, of the future regent of France, —the profligate Orleans. Neither the church of Rome nor the church of England were aught to teacher or pupil. Like Voltaire and Diderot, their blows were aimed at Christianity in general. The ascetic devotion of the unfortunate James Stuart according to the tenets of Rome, or the worship of his sister Anne according to the practice of the reformed church of England, were equally scorned by men, whose by-word, in terms too atrocious for repetition, was to crush Christianity under every form.

When all parties were agitated with the discussion of the preliminaries of peace, libels flew about as thickly, according to Mesnager's expression, "as musket-balls on a battle-field." The queen, at such a period of excitement, was obliged to take some precautionary measures for the preservation of peace at home. Among others, she issued an order of council forbidding the usual procession and bonfires on "queen Bess's day," the council having intelligence that the London 'prentices in the whig interest had prepared the effigies of all her ministers of state, dressed in their usual costume, as a holocaust at the base of queen Elizabeth's statue near Temple bar. The leaders of the opposition hired Tom D'Urfey to write a lyric on the occasion, and as all parties affected great personal devotion to the queen, she was represented as a victim in the hands of the triumphant faction, just as she had been in those of the family junta. The refrain of "Save the queen! save the queen!" was meant to excite her loyal commonalty to snatch Anne, their beloved mistress, from the clutches of the tories. One verse will be a sufficient specimen to show the temper of the times:—

“Methought queen Bess arose—¹
 Save the queen! save the queen!
 From mansion of repose,—
 Save the queen! save the queen!
 The genius of our land
 Came too at her command,—
 Save the queen! save the queen!”

Few persons can realize, in these times, that an uproar could occur among a grown-up nation relative to the burning of a parcel of great dolls. The story went that there were forty puppets prepared for the flaming pile, and that they had cost 1000*l*. Dr. Swift went to see them, after they were captured, and declared the whole group did not cost forty pounds. There was his sable majesty, provided with a mask by way of a face, supposed to resemble the prime-minister, the pope on his right hand, the pretender on his left, dressed in a blue cloth coat, with tinsel lace, and a white feather made with cut paper; also the figures of four cardinals, four jesuits, and four Franciscan friars, all assembled round a mighty cross, eighteen feet in height.”²

The queen had removed from Windsor castle to Hampton Court in October; here she had another long fit of gout, which was supposed to be a political one, in order to screen her frequent interviews with the French plenipotentiaries. Lord Oxford had likewise a long illness; he shut himself up with his royal mistress at Hampton Court and was invisible to all the world. When the treaty was nearly perfected, the prime minister recovered his health and resumed his functions. While he was absent from Hampton Court, queen Anne addressed to him the following characteristic epistle:—

“Nov. y^e 16th 1711.”³

“I am very glad to hear from those that you saw yesterday, that you are so much recovered; I pray God perfect your health, and confirm it for many, many years. I thank you for *puting* me in mind of having a fast *hear*, and in Scotland, w^{ch} I think is so right, that I intend to mention it either to-morrow or at y^e next cabinet. I have talked wth 1^d chamberlain [Shrewsbury] about

¹ D’Urfey’s Poems.

² Swift’s Journal to Stella.

³ Lansdowne MSS. 1236, p. 253.

several things this afternoon, and at present he seems to me to be in good humor; what he means by the D. of Somerset working against him I can't tell, for he has not named him to me a great while. I gave lord Dartmouth to-day the names for the council of trade and chamberlain of Scotland, and he tells me he has order'd the warrant to be filled up. I find he has not prepared any instructions for 1^d Peterborow, fearing he would do more hurt than good at Turin; 1^d Dartmouth proposed to me the sending him to Venice. I think he should be sent somewhere, for I fear, if he comes home while the parliament is sitting, he will be very troublesome. M^r secretary often mentions that great care should be taken of the courts of Berlin and Hanover, but never has proposed anybody to be sent to either; if Brittain be thought proper for such an employment, I am very willing to part wth him, only desire he may not be sent to Hanover. I believe duke Hamilton may do very well for Vienna, but it will be time enough to come to any resolution about it when I have the satisfaction of seeing you. You propose my giving M^r Prior some inferior character; what that can be I don't know, for I doubt his birth will not entitle him to that of envoy, and the secretary of the embassy is filled; if there be any other you can think of that is fit for him, I shall be very glad to do it. I leave it to you to recommend somebody for the master of the Mint in Scotland, for I have none in my thoughts at present to give it to. I intend, *an it please God*, to be in town the middle of the next week, if the parliament can meet on the day appointed, or else I should be glad to stay a week longer *hear*, unless you think my being at St James's is absolutely necessary for *business*. Pray turn it in your thoughts who will be proper to putt into the commission for executing the office of privy-seal during my lord's absence, and believe me, wth all sincerity,

"Your very affectionate *freind*,

"ANNE, R."

Endorsed—"The Qu. to my L^d Oxford, Nov. 16th, 1711."

The queen was right in her suggestions: lord Strafford refused to have his name publicly associated with Prior, not perhaps on account of his low birth, although every one was exclaiming against the nobleman's insane pride on that account. There are, however, indications of servile baseness in Prior's previous career, which show him ready to truckle to any party or person willing to take himself and his pen at a valuation.¹ No one can greatly blame Strafford as a gentleman,—to say nothing of his nobility,—for eschewing such partnership. Her majesty was, notwithstanding, so well pleased with Prior's labors in the embassy, that she herself requested that he might be rewarded with the place of commissioner of the customs.

¹ Prior, at this time, was a Jacobite; but his letters, as quoted by sir Henry Ellis, Camden Society, when attached to the English legation at the peace of Ryswick, are odious specimens of time-serving.

The queen sent a request to her kinswoman, the electress Sophia, to assist her in promoting the peace of Europe; that princess answered in a letter, by which it appears that she was pleased at the invitation. At the same time queen Anne sent a present to her god-daughter, the princess Anne of Hanover, eldest daughter of the hereditary prince and princess (afterwards George II. of Great Britain and his queen-consort). The electress Sophia, the great-grand-mother of the infant, alludes to both queen Anne's messages in her letter to the earl of Strafford, then secretary of state, November 11, 1711:—"Earl Rivers has brought a present to the queen's god-daughter as an honorable mark of her favors, which are infinitely esteemed. I would not, however, give my *parchment* for it, since that will be an everlasting monument in the archives of Hanover, and the present of the little princess will go, when she is grown up, into another family."¹ The electress, by "the parchment," meant the commission by which queen Anne empowered her to aid the restoration of peace,—an office which Sophia undertakes as an honor, but mildly points out some inconsistency in English politics, which very recently breathed of nothing but war. Not a word occurs of jealousy regarding any tendency the queen might have towards her brother; all the suspicions that Anne expressed against her kinswoman Sophia and her son were met with the patient rectitude of honorable intentions. Neither does there exist any document, yet discovered, which proves that either mother or son swerved from the straightforward course they had prescribed for themselves; this was, to treat their unfortunate kinsman, young James Stuart, as the legitimate son of the elder royal line, giving him full time to make up his mind whether he persisted in his repudiation of the creed of the church of England as his profession of faith, in which case only the family of Hanover meant to accept the offered island-empire. It was in vain that the Orange politicians lamented their hard fate, that there was no hero of Nassau now to come with an invading army to pluck down the queen for the public good. "There was no

¹ Hanover Papers, Macpherson Collection, vol. ii. p. 266.

prince of Orange to be found," says one of his admiring contemporaries;¹ "neither could they depend on the elector of Hanover [afterwards George I.] from the moment he refused his son [afterwards George II.] leave to go over into England, which was a matter of great affliction to the most zealous friends of the revolution in Great Britain." The honorable conduct of Sophia and her son thus disappointed their most violent partisans, at the same time that every temptation was offered by their own party to gratify the ambition of a sovereign who had as much passion for military distinction as any of his contemporaries.

George of Hanover received invitations from parliament, and even publicly from the queen herself, to take the command of the allied army, of which the common course of events showed that the duke of Marlborough must soon be deprived. The princess Sophia and the elector took more trouble to ascertain the private wishes of Anne on this point than less honorable princes would have done to thwart them; and, finding that such a proceeding would embarrass her government, declined the offer. Every branch of their family acted in coincidence with the line of conduct their noble ancestress, Sophia, had prescribed to herself and them. When the only sister of George II. married the hereditary prince of Prussia,² the bride and bridegroom came to the Hague. They long lingered on the shores opposite to England, and by their correspondence with queen Anne,³ plainly intimated how acceptable an invitation to her court would have been. The number of Protestant heirs-male of the house of Hanover might have obviated all jealousy in the mind of queen Anne regarding any ambitious designs of the young bride of Prussia, whose natural desire to see the country of her ancestors met with no encouragement from the queen of Great Britain; therefore, neither the princess of Prussia nor her spouse attempted to intrude on their royal kinswoman, although they well knew that there was a large and clamorous party,

¹ Cunningham's History of Great Britain, book xv.

² Father and mother of Frederic the Great.

³ Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne.

who would have welcomed them despite of the queen, and forced her, notwithstanding her reluctance, to pay them every attention consonant with their rank and relationship to her family. The circumstance which renders the honorable conduct of the Hanoverian princes the more estimable is, that it was dictated by rectitude of mind and principle, and not by partiality and friendship to queen Anne, whose worrying suspicions and hostile jealousy throughout her life and reign were enough to provoke the injury she expected from her kinswoman Sophia. Traces of indignant feeling now and then appear in the letters of Sophia to Anne, but not to Anne's enemies; and the evidence of the whig historian, Cunningham, previously quoted, proves (as well as the abuse of the duchess of Marlborough) that this absence from intrigue gained Sophia and her son nothing but ill-will and scoffing reflections from the leaders of the party who tendered the crown of Great Britain to them. But their political honesty must have had its weight with the great body of the British people, and it was, after all, the best policy; it ultimately rendered their line long and prosperous in the land,—and so may it continue!

Attempts to induce the queen to the repeal of the union between England and Scotland were made by Scotchmen of all parties, and it was generally agreed among them to send up a petition against it to the queen, with whom the deputies resolved to enter into a personal discussion. Lockhart's words are remarkably *naïve* on the subject. "We set out," he says, "to Kingsintoun [Kensington], where the queen then was; and though we made what haste we could, the earl of Oxford, having been made acquainted with our design, was got before us with the queen. Coming out of the presence as we were admitted, he told us 'he understood our errand, and the queen was prepared to give us an answer.' Being introduced to the queen, the duke of Argyle laid open to her majesty 'the many fatal consequences of the Union, and the bad treatment the Scots had received in the matter of the malt-tax.'" When the queen had listened, or seemed to listen, to the speech of the whig

duke, the Jacobite earl of Marr addressed her with an harangue on the same subject. The reply of her majesty was hostile to the repeal of the Union. "I am sorry," said her majesty,¹ "that the Scots believe they have reason to complain; but I am of opinion they drive their resentment too far. I wish they may not repent it." The deputation, composed of whig, tory, and Jacobite individuals, withdrew in silence.

The queen, on the 7th of December, 1711, opened her second sessions of the united parliament of Great Britain. It was, at that time, above a year since her majesty had thought fit to put the great offices of state and of her own household in other hands than the family knot of the Marlborough alliance; yet three discontented whig lords were still left by the queen in possession of their high places. The duke of Marlborough was general in chief, the duke of Somerset master of the horse, the earl of Cholmondeley treasurer of her household; and many subordinates of their party remained in office.² The royal speech was an extraordinary one, and seems, in fact, to have emanated from the queen's well-known desire for the pacification of Europe. "Notwithstanding," said her majesty, from the throne, "the arts of those who delight in war, both time and place *are* appointed for the opening a treaty for a general peace."³ The speech produced the most extraordinary discussions in the house of lords; and as the duke of Marlborough was generally supposed to be pointed at in it, the queen being in her private box a few nights afterwards, he, in the midst of a warm debate, suddenly appealed to her majesty to exonerate him,⁴ which threw her into the greatest embarrassment. Yet the word at that time went among the tory ministry that the queen "had betrayed them." It was reported that she had had many conferences

¹ Lockhart of Carnwath's Papers.

² Mesnager's Minutes of Negotiation, collated with Toone's Chronology, vol. i. p. 410.

³ Ibid., where an abstract may be seen.

⁴ His speech is quoted in Mr. Alison's recently-published Military Life of Marlborough, where our readers will find the political history of the era detailed with that great writer's usual ability.

with the duke of Marlborough after his return from his "campaign, and that the peace was lost."¹

There exists a view of the internal movements of the palace at this nice crisis, sketched by the graphic pen of Swift.² "I went," he says, "immediately to Mrs. Masham, and meeting Dr. Arbuthnot [the queen's favorite physician], we went together to St. James's. Mrs. Masham was just come from waiting on the queen at dinner, and was going to her own. She had heard nothing of the thing having gone against us," meaning an adverse majority in the house of lords.³ It seems "that the lord treasurer [Harley earl of Oxford] had been so negligent, that he was absent when the question was put in the house, conversing with the queen, as if nothing of moment was on the tapis." Swift, on this, ventured one of his bold remarks:—"I immediately told Mrs. Masham that either she and lord treasurer had joined with the queen to betray us, or that they two were betrayed by the queen. Mrs. Masham protested it was not Harley, and I believed her, for she gave me some lights to suspect that the queen is changed. Yesterday, when the queen was going from the house of lords, where she sat to hear the debate, the duke of Shrewsbury, as lord chamberlain, asked her majesty, 'Whether he or the great-chamberlain, Lindsay, ought to lead her out?' The queen answered him, very *short*, 'Neither of you;' and gave her hand to the duke of Somerset, who was louder than any one in the house of lords for the clause against peace. Mrs. Masham gave me one or two instances of this sort, which convinced me that the queen is false, or at least very much wavering. She begged us to stay, because lord treasurer would call, and we all resolved to fall on him about his negligence in not securing a majority. He came, and appeared in good humor, as usual; but we thought his countenance was much cast down. I rallied him, and desired him to give me his staff,

¹ Swift's *Four Last Years of Queen Anne*, vol. v. pp. 19, 20, and *Journal*, 439-441.

² Swift's *Journal*, December, 1711, in many passages.

³ *Ibid.*, December 8th, pp. 439-441.

which he did." By this practical joke, it is apparent that the important possessors of court-offices, designated by white wands, carried such insignia about with them, even to pay private visits.

When Swift had seized the lord treasurer's wand, he said, "If I could but be secured in possession of this for one week, I would set all to rights."¹—"How?" asked the premier. "I would immediately turn out Marlborough, his two daughters, the duke and duchess of Somerset, and lord Cholmondeley," replied Swift. Dr. Arbuthnot asked the premier, "How he came not to secure a majority?" He could answer nothing, but "that he could not help it, if people would lie and forswear."²—"A poor answer," observes his impatient auditor, Swift, "for so great a minister." The premier added a quotation in allusion to the sovereign, "The hearts of kings are unsearchable." However, he went home, called for a list of court-places, and marked every one for expulsion who had voted against his government. Swift finishes, as he began, with the assertion, "The queen is false."³ From this conviction he was persuaded, the following day, by her majesty's confidential physician, Arbuthnot, who said:—"The queen has not betrayed her ministry; she has only been first frightened, and then flattered."

The duke of Somerset, taking advantage of the queen's public preference of his arm to either of her great-chamberlains, had told many of the peers "to vote against the tory ministry, because it would please the queen."³ The new ministry insisted on the removal of the duchess of Somerset, and again confusion reigned in the palace. In the midst of these contentions it was said that the queen, on her return from parliament to St. James's, called for the duchess of Marlborough; that a friendly lady ran to the duchess's apartments, and pressing her to lay hold of the opportunity, assured her that she might, with but one soft word, be as well with the queen as ever, and overthrow all her enemies at once; but that she refused to go, though her lodgings were on the same floor as the queen's, and

¹ Swift's Journal, December 8th, pp. 439-441.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

added some very disrespectful words of the queen, and of her new favorite, which being related to her majesty, put an end to all manner of affection between them.¹

The rage of the duchess of Marlborough against the queen for having given her places to the duchess of Somerset, and at that lady for having accepted them, was too blind to permit her to perceive then that the duchess of Somerset, although from different motives, was pursuing the same track as herself, of active enmity to the line of Stuart. The letters of Sarah of Marlborough are replete with mockery of the duchess of Somerset and the queen, and of the means whereby that lady gained the royal favor. The queen's vice-chamberlain furnished the intelligence. This functionary declared, "that ever since the queen's widowhood, the duchess of Somerset, whenever she saw the queen look dull or thoughtful, used to exclaim, "My queen, you must not think always of the poor prince!"² The duchess of Marlborough chose to affirm that the queen had neither affection nor regret for her lost spouse; and declared, at the same time, "that to look gently, and talk insipidly at the queen's basset or ombre-tables, was all that her majesty required in any person's whole course of life." For the first of these excellences the fierce duchess was certainly little qualified.

Fortunately for the new ministry, a fresh cause of complaint was discovered by the queen against the duchess of Marlborough. The new palace built by the latter, on the ground the queen had granted her at St. James's, was completed, so as to enable them to live side by side, just as the final rupture took place which separated their lives forever. The duchess relinquished her apartments in St. James's palace, and, according to the queen's account, who walked through the suite after her retreat, she left that part of the palace, which had been her head-quarters for years, in a state as if it had been sacked by a destructive enemy,—the locks torn off the doors, marble slabs forced out, and looking-glasses and pictures rent from their panels. The queen stopped the instalments of money for completing

¹ Minutes of the Negotiations of M. Mesnager at the Court of England.

² Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough.

Blenheim house at Woodstock, declaring "that, as the duchess of Marlborough had dilapidated her house [namely, St. James's palace], she would not build her one." A very elaborate defence from these charges was penned by the duchess. On which side the truth rests it is difficult to determine; but it is indeed strange that the queen, with affairs of vital importance on her mind, should have leisure to make a personal investigation into the state in which the duchess had left her lodgings.¹

Lord Dartmouth asked the queen, "How her majesty would be pleased to have her servants live with him [the duke of Marlborough], after his return from the campaign?" The queen replied, "That would depend on his behavior to her."—"I am sure," rejoined lord Dartmouth, "that it will be all submission, since other means had proved totally ineffectual; and," asked his lordship, "is your majesty proof against that?"—"Yes," said the queen, "I am." When the queen had had an interview with the duke of Marlborough, she told lord Dartmouth that his demeanor *was* submissive, as he had foretold; "only lower," added her majesty, "than it was possible to imagine."

"The duke of Marlborough soon visited lord Dartmouth, for the purpose of propitiating him for regaining the favor of the queen; 'reminded him of his relationship, and hoped he would do him, on that account, all good offices with her majesty, who, he knew, had entire confidence in lord Dartmouth, which he was sincerely glad to see. He lamented,'—and the sincerity of that lamentation was unquestionable,—'the strange conduct of his wife, but declared, withal, there was no help for that, and a man must bear a good deal to lead a quiet life at home!'"² His confessions of the faults of his better half did not prevent his own dismissal from the command he had sustained with such invariable success. Inquiries were instituted at the same time concerning vast sums he had appropriated by the sale of commissions,³—a bad practice, which first appears in his gov-

¹ Coxe MSS.

² Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. vi. p. 6.

³ Evelyn's Diary, 1691, remarks on the disgrace and dismissal of Marl-

ernment of the military forces of Great Britain; likewise of the enormous bribes and percentages received by him from the Jew contractors for the soldiers' bread and clothing. The soldiers of the regiments that had returned threw away their jackets and clothing over the wall of the queen's garden at St. James's palace. Tradition says they were brought to Anne, who wept at seeing the flimsy rags which the avarice of the generalissimo and his Jew contractors had provided for the common men to abide the damp and aguish seasons of the Low Countries. The army was consigned by the queen to the care of the duke of Ormonde, whose commission was, not to gain victories, but to keep the British forces in a state of armed neutrality until the peace was concluded.

The incorrigible sycophancy of Anne's courtiers, in paying homage to Abigail Masham by way of propitiating the queen, greatly disgusted her majesty, who confided her feelings on the subject to lord Dartmouth. That nobleman had been deputed by the tory ministry to request the queen to make Abigail's husband, Mr. Masham, a peer. The proposition was very distasteful to Queen Anne, who thus replied to lord Dartmouth:—"I never had the least intention to make a great lady of Abigail Masham; for by so doing I should lose a useful servant about my person, for it would give offence for a peeress to sleep on the floor, and do all sorts of inferior offices."¹ But as Abigail was related to Harley as well as to lady Marlborough, that rising statesman wished to lose the memory of her former servitude to lady Rivers under the blaze of a peeress's coronet; the measure was therefore persisted in, despite the queen's sensible objections. At last, her majesty consented to the exaltation of the humble Abigail, on condition that she remained her dresser. Lord Dartmouth's description of Mrs. Masham's disposition is that of an avowed enemy.

borough. Many indications occur throughout their correspondence, that the duke, and even the duchess, of Marlborough pursued this bad practice for their private benefit, in their prosperity during the war in the reign of Anne. The bribes from the Jew contractors were acknowledged by Marlborough, but were called by him "customary perquisites."

¹ Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet, vol. vi. p. 33.

"She was," he says, "exceeding mean and vulgar in her manners, of a very unequal temper, childish *exceptious* [captious] and passionate. . . . The queen told me," continues lord Dartmouth, "'that I was not in her good graces (which I did not know before), because I lived civilly with the duchess of Somerset,' which, her majesty interpolated, 'she hoped I would continue to do, without minding Mrs. Masham's ill humors.' At last, Abigail grew very rude to me, of which I took no notice. The queen gave me a hint of her suspicion that she or her sister always listened at the door when I had a conference with her majesty.¹ Abigail likewise showed some disrespects to the duchess of Somerset, which gave the queen a notion of making her a lady of the bedchamber, and thus laying her down softly." None of the anecdotes of Abigail Masham, drawn either by the friends or foes of her party, in any point agree with the Abigail Masham of Swift, who wrote letters in a much better style than either of her magnificent mistresses, the Marlborough duchess or the English queen. If we may judge by them, her education had been superior to both.² The minds of all people were in the utmost excitement in regard to whether the queen would retain her friends of the house of Somerset, and form a ministry with the Somers division of the whigs. Mesnager expressed his fears to the queen that the duchess of Somerset was adverse to the peace; queen Anne replied, "Oh, I'll warrant you; I'll answer for her!"

Great watchfulness prevailed for the moment when the duke of Somerset was to appear in his equipage with his people in his own yellow liveries instead of those of the queen, which his suite wore because he was the queen's master of the horse.³ At last the duke resigned, but the queen still continued intractable to the advice of her ministers. The whig duchess bore the blame, and the whole venom of the tory party was turned against her; she was, however, by no means adverse to the peace, but violently

¹ Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet, vol. vi. p. 33.

² Her letters in the Swift Correspondence are the best there.

³ Swift's Journal.

against all relentings of the queen's heart in favor of her brother. Whatever Mesnager, Gualtier, and the countess of Jersey, assisted by Abigail Masham, did in his behalf on one side was reversed by the duchess of Somerset on the other. In the midst of the disputes between the queen and her ministers relative to the duchess of Somerset retaining office, Swift wrote a bitter libel, which he called a "Windsor Prophecy." He read it to Mrs. Masham, who had the good sense to entreat him to suppress it, saying "that she knew the queen, she likewise knew the duchess of Somerset, and she was convinced he would injure himself and his party by its publication." Her remonstrance is recorded by Swift himself,¹ and it stands in contradiction to the abuse levelled against Abigail Masham for ignorance and want of sense. As there is no malice like party malignity, nothing could restrain the great literary champion of the tories from attacking the duchess of Somerset, in every point in which he thought he could grieve or degrade her. In his libel on the queen's new favorite, he was not ashamed of making ungenerous use of the accident of her hair being red, and of the misfortunes of her early youth.

The duchess of Somerset's hatred to the lineal royal family of Stuart was bitter and unceasing; the ground was, because Charles II. had placed his illegitimate son above the lofty line of Percy, by giving him the title of duke of Northumberland; she had been married at ten or eleven years of age to lord Ogle, the son of the duke of Newcastle (according to the old evil practice of giving in wedlock heiresses of great property). It may be supposed her inclinations were not consulted in her matrimonial destination; but her first bridegroom or purchaser died, and left her a widow at thirteen, when her mother and her guardians fell out furiously at the disposing of her a second time as the Percy heiress. The unfortunate child wore widow's mourning at the court of Charles II., and received the appellation of *la triste héritière*. She excited, by her great wealth and mournful appearance, some interest, although she had no pretensions to beauty. Her guardian

¹ Swift's Journal.

made her marry a commoner, of immense wealth, Thomas Thynne, of Longleat hall, when her mother, the dowager countess of Northumberland, much enraged at his conduct, escaped with her to the continent, until she became of legal age. At Brussels, the child in weeds was seen by the handsome count Koningsmark, a German soldier of rank, possessed of little property and less reputation. The Percy heiress was not fourteen when this fortune-hunter marked her as his prey. He had heard that her mother and herself detested the engagement she had been forced into, and to make the field clear for his own pretensions, he very deliberately hired three assassins, who shot Mr. Thynne in his carriage in the Haymarket. The circumstance is curiously and minutely represented on Thynne's monument in Westminster abbey. Every species of rumor was raised concerning the assassination at the time of its perpetration, excepting the vile one of implicating an unfortunate child, who would have been a victim either to the profligate who had bought her with her lands, or the guilty foreign adventurer who murdered him. The noble child, thus a widow twice before she was fourteen, was finally married to the duke of Somerset, who possessed a greater share of pride than wealth. When old enough to take the responsibility of her own actions, the duchess of Somerset was respected for the propriety of her conduct, and was considered one of the most virtuous matrons at the court of queen Mary.

It suited Swift's party-pen to make out the duchess of Somerset an assassin at fourteen, and he trusted to find partisans willing to believe him, or at least to pretend to do so, when he thus attacked her in his Windsor Prophecy by a string of ill-conditioned puns, addressed to the royal widow on the throne:—

“England, dear England! if I understand,
 Beware of *carrots*¹ from Northumberland.
 Carrots sown thin [*Thynne*] a deeper root may get,
 If so be they are in summer set [*Somerset*];
 Their cunning's mark [*Koningsmark*] thou, for I have been told,
 They *assassine*² when young, and poison when old.

¹ The red hair of the duchess of Somerset.

² Meaning *assassinate*.

Root out those carrots, O thou ! whose name,
Spelled backward and forward, is always the same."

This was *Anna* ; for the queen occasionally, like her great-grandmother, Anne of Denmark, accented her name in two syllables, from whence her medallists and poets called her Anna. These verses proceed to recommend Mrs. Masham to fill the place of the unfortunate lady, whose carrotty locks formed the refrain of this evil lyric :—

" And keep close to thee always that name,
Which, spelled backwards and forwards, is *almost* the same ;¹
And England, wouldst thou be happy still,
Bury those *carrots* under a *Hill*,"²

The wicked wit who wrote this whimsical lampoon, showed it to Mrs. Masham again when it was in print ; but the alarm of the cautious courtier increased, and she entreated him still more earnestly to suppress it, as an attack on the duchess of Somerset would deeply anger the queen. The author affected to stop the printing of it ; but the attempt made the squib run like wildfire, and it very soon reached the person it was aimed at, who laid it by, biding her time of showing it to the queen.

Meantime, a compromise was effected between her majesty and her new ministry. The tories agreed that the duchess of Somerset was to remain in office ; and the queen yielded a point in contest with them, by permitting the creation of the twelve new peers, which carried the measures of her ministers in the house of lords. They were gazetted December 28, 1711 ; Mrs. Masham's husband being one of this batch, became in consequence a peer of Great Britain. Samuel Masham's claims to this honor were not very distinguished, independently of the personal services the queen had experienced from his better half. The bitter pen of the duchess of Marlborough does not greatly exaggerate when she thus describes the nonentity of the new peer :—"Mr. Masham, in so long a war, though made a general, I believe never saw fire in his life. He always attended his wife, and the queen's basset-table, being at court

¹ Masham.

² The family name of Mrs. Masham.

upwards of twenty years, being a soft, good-natured, insignificant man, always making low bows to everybody, and ready to skip to open a door."¹

Queens' pockets, from the days of Elizabeth to Anne, were mysterious repositories, within whose diplomatic folds reposed the destinies and advancements of the gentles and peers of the land. "I never was so much surprised," saith one of the reminiscences of lord Dartmouth,² "as when the queen drew a list of twelve lords out of her pocket, and ordered me to bring warrants for them, there not having been the least intimation before it was to be put in execution. I asked her, 'If her majesty designed to have them all made at once?' Her majesty answered by inquiring, 'If lord Dartmouth made exceptions to the legality of the measure?'—'No,' replied his lordship; 'only as to its expediency.' The queen rejoined, that 'She had made fewer lords than any of her predecessors;' and added, 'You see, my lord, that the duke of Marlborough and the whigs do all they can to distress me; therefore I must do what I can to help myself.' I told her majesty, that 'I thought it my duty to tell her my apprehensions, as well as to execute her commands.' The queen thanked me, and said, that 'She liked the measure as little as I did; yet found not that any one could propose a better expedient.'"³ Three peers' eldest sons were called by writ to the house of lords in this extraordinary creation; nine commoners made up the twelve peerages, whose portentous appearance, out of her majesty's pocket, had startled lord Dartmouth.

It has been shown, that the preliminaries of the peace with France had been received by the queen as early as October; but no clause in the articles had mentioned her

¹ Inedited letter of the duchess of Marlborough, Coxe MSS. Masham was, in point of descent, of a very different degree from his wife. He was, in fact, a remote kinsman of the queen, by legitimate descent from George Plantagenet, duke of Clarence, through the illustrious Margaret countess of Salisbury. He was a representative of the ill-fated and persecuted line of Pole.—See Burke's Extinct Peerage. Masham was very poor, being the eighth son of a ruined cavalier baronet; but his descent rendered his wife eligible to any court-office in the gift of the crown.

² Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. vi. p. 87.

³ Ibid.

expatriated brother or sister, neither what was to become of the queen, her father's widow, and the English colony of emigrants at St. Germain. All the Jacobites, whose party force in England had aided queen Anne to break the chains of the family junta, were aghast at this contempt; and they bitterly blamed, and even threatened, the envoy, Mesnager, with bringing on his own head the wrath of his monarch, Louis XIV. One of his colleagues, abbé Gaultier, declared, that "if he could but have a private conference with queen Anne, or liberty to speak his mind to her, though others were present, he was able to give her such an account of the dying expressions of her father, James II., in regard to the prince of Wales being really her brother, that her majesty could never enjoy the kingdom of heaven without she surrendered the crown of Great Britain to him whose right it was. The enthusiasm of the abbé by no means suited the policy of Mesnager, who, according to his own account, forthwith read the poor priest a severe private lecture "on his departure from the orthodoxy of the Roman Catholic church, by daring to give out that queen Anne, as a heretic, could ever enjoy the kingdom of heaven, let her conduct be whatsoever it might;"¹—a good proof, if any more were needed, that worldly-minded statesmen usually surpass in bigotry the priesthood; a harder worldling than the diplomatist Mesnager cannot easily be found. Notwithstanding the browbeating of his principal, abbé Gaultier tried to introduce the subject he had at heart to some of the queen's ministers; "but," adds Mesnager, "they would not so much as stay in the room when the young king's [James Stuart's] name was mentioned." Mesnager was the less anxious to introduce the name of the expatriated prince, even in the secret articles of peace, because he declares that his sovereign, Louis XIV., had used this expression:—"If queen Anne insists on it, you must give him up to his fortune. We must not be ruined on his account,—you understand me?" which last sentence the king of France repeated more than once. There is no doubt that this general agreement to drop all

¹ Minutes of Negotiation of M. Mesnager, p. 109.

mention of the queen's brother greatly facilitated the progress of the treaty.

The Jacobite ladies in the queen's household were utterly discontented with the manner in which the interest of their prince had been nullified in the treaty. Lady Jersey, and perhaps lady Winchelsea, had so much to say on the subject to Mesnager, that he thought proper to urge to the noble official (by whom he was usually introduced to the queen's presence) the same arguments that Gaultier had proposed to propound to her majesty; on which the nobleman assured him, that if the exhortations were urged to her of her father on his death-bed, "queen Anne would have something very pertinent to answer." Mesnager observed, "that so much as this peace was discussed by the queen, there must be some moment or other when she mentioned her brother; and that nothing could be more *à propos* than at such time to ask her majesty what her pleasure was? and how she would please to have him dispose of himself?" The nobleman assured him, "that although reasonable as well as natural, yet he knew not whether it could be done; but if such an opportunity presented, he would let him know."¹ Five or six days passed away, at the end of which time a message came to invite Mesnager to sup with that nobleman, supposed by some to be the duke of Shrewsbury, by others the duke of Buckingham, but evidently a step lower in the peerage. Many circumstances point at lord Delawarr.² "He told me," said Mesnager, "'that he had just been drinking tea in the apartments of a lady *very near* the queen [evidently indicating lady Masham], which lady had been very freely discussing the lately-signed preliminaries of peace, and I think, M. de Mesnager,' continued he, 'that you and her should have a conference, for, by my faith! the women dare say anything.'" He then continued repeating to Mesnager the words of the Jacobite lady. "My lord," said she, "I cannot make out

¹ Minutes of Negotiation of M. Mesnager, pp. 254-260.

² According to Swift's Journal, this nobleman had succeeded lord Jersey as lord chamberlain of the household. He mentions him, in a discontented manner, "as one who would do no good to any party."

these dark things you call *preliminaries*. I wish you could read me a lecture of politics upon them.”—“Lord, madame!” replied Mesnager’s friend, continuing the narrative, “you are a better politician than I.”—“Not I,” answered lady Masham; “I am all in the dark about them.”—“Cannot you stay till they explain themselves?” To this she replied, laughing, “We women, you know, my lord, love to come at the *éclaircissement*.”—“Well, madame, where is your difficulty?” Here she answered, softly, “Why, what is it you mean to do with the Pretender?—so, monsieur Mesnager, you know he is called among our people, and sometimes not by his worst enemies, if company be present.” The noble lord, who does not seem to be the most valiant of his species, here added to Mesnager, “that he was not a little startled; for there were not less than three ladies present, but all belonging to the royal household.”

The lady then proposed that some ambiguity should be left in the article which guaranteed the succession to the line of Hanover; and that, by a verbal agreement, the queen and Louis XIV. should construe it their own way, if they saw occasion. It seems that this quibbling mode of arranging difficulties had already been proposed by Mesnager; and his noble informer assured him, “that the coincidence very much struck him as if the lady and himself had previously compared notes,” which could not have been the case, as lady Masham was at that time unknown to the French envoy. With some passion she continued, alluding to the unfortunate James Stuart, “Will ye drive him about the world as a vagabond? will ye oblige the king of France to do nothing for him? will ye ruin him here too? and will ye have the queen starve her own brother?” To this remonstrance, the nobleman told Mesnager he replied, “I did not think she was so serious as I found she was;” that “I believed she would allow I was for starving no one; but she also knew on what ticklish terms we stood in England, as our enemies wanted nothing more to let loose the mob upon us but to say we were for bringing in the Pretender.”—“Lord!” said the lady, half merrily, “what a parcel of statesmen the queen has here! Why, it

is no wonder that the queen herself is so frightened every now and then at the whigs, when all you men are so faint-hearted! If ever the *young gentleman* does come here, as I don't question but he will, I hope he will call ye all to account for a parcel of——" "Cowards and defectors," interposed the nobleman; "you had as good, my lady, have spoken it out. Perhaps we should not be such cowards if the queen would be advised."—"Here my lord broke off the discourse," says Mesnager; "and on my pressing him to go on, he owned the conversation became wholly serious, and of a turn that would compromise his liberty or life. Besides," he continued, "the queen came into the room, and interrupted us."¹

Of course, the astute French diplomatist became the more eager to know what passed after queen Anne was made a party in a discussion so nearly concerning her royal dignity; and after due entreaty, his informant continued, "that at the moment the Jacobite lady was exclaiming against the chevalier being left to the mercy of the Dutch, to be starved, or worse,—adding, louder than usual, 'Can you think, my lord, but the queen must have many thoughts of this kind? Can she be easy regarding her own brother?'—just as she repeated the word 'brother,' the queen came into the room. 'What!' said her majesty to the lady Masham, 'are you always talking politics?'—'Lord, madame,' replied the lady, merrily, 'here's my lord,'—naming him to the queen,—'turned whig.'—'I cannot think that,' observed her majesty. 'He's turned cruel and barbarous; and that,' exclaimed the lady, 'is, I think, the same thing.' 'What is the matter?' asked the queen. 'Nay, madame, it is all before your majesty, in the fine new preliminaries here.'" By which it may be supposed that some copies had been printed or circulated among the ministers and officials of the palace; it is certain that they were disseminated over the country in a very few hours after the queen had announced her approval at her supper at Windsor castle. "The preliminaries have been the dispute," continued the lady to the queen. "I tell my lord, here, that

¹ Minutes by Mesnager.

they are so worded that they will neither let your majesty do anything for a *certain person*, or do it themselves. I suppose they would be rid of him at any rate. I wish they would tell your majesty what to do with him." The answer of Anne is too characteristic of her phraseology, as well as of her modes of thinking, to permit a doubt that she uttered the very words:—"I can never get one of them so much as to speak of him," said the queen, "*or to answer me a question* about him; and I don't press them, but I hope they will do as *becomes them*."

The nobleman who narrated this extraordinary scene to Mesnager here thought proper to interpose, and without noticing the remarkable words the queen had uttered, made a diversion in her favor by addressing the Jacobite lady:—"Madame, you complain of the ministers doing nothing in that affair; perhaps you do not know what is offered by some persons at this very time?"—"Not I, indeed," replied the lady. "All things are so locked up with my lord treasurer [Harley earl of Oxford], that we hear nothing. Lord treasurer is so *incommunicable*, that all the queen herself gets from him amounts to little more than, 'Be easy, madame; be easy! Things in general go well.'"

The nobleman then told Mesnager that he addressed to the queen these words:—"Madame, your majesty knows that M. Mesnager is still in town; he desires nothing more than to talk freely to you of this matter [*viz.*, of the affairs of her brother]. It is quite true, as lady Masham says, that your ministers are afraid of meddling with it. He says, 'that he has something of very great importance to offer about it, and thinks it hard that, after the preliminaries of peace are settled, no one will give him an audience on the rest.' If your majesty will be pleased to hear him, here is lady Masham, who would be the best plenipotentiary in this affair. I'll bring monsieur Mesnager to wait upon her here in her apartments."—"With all my heart," returned the lady, "if her majesty here will give me leave. I won't be afraid, as all you politicians are, so that you neither dare speak nor hear."—"I think," observed the queen, "there can be no harm in this, any more than in

the preliminaries, to hear what they offer.”—“This was the conclusion of the dialogue,” continued Mesnager’s informant, adding, significantly, “I doubt not that the next time I see the queen, she will ask ‘if I have brought you, and where you are?’ for she seems mighty willing to talk of the business.”¹

“I told him,” resumes Mesnager, in commenting on the discourse with the queen, “that he had done me only justice in telling the queen that I desired nothing more than to talk freely of that affair [the destination of the Pretender]; and as the women had so much more courage than the men, I should be as glad of a female plenipotentiary as of any other. Only I desired the favor of being called to a conference as soon as possible, because the time drew near when I must be gone, as the king of France had done me the honor of naming me for one of the plenipotentiaries at the approaching treaty to be held at Utrecht.” The nobleman replied, “that he was in earnest in naming lady Masham to Mesnager, for in truth, for his own part, he did not care to venture. As for the women, they feared nobody; and that whatever was said to *her*, would be soonest carried to the queen. Nay,” he added, “perhaps you may sometimes see the queen herself on the occasion.”—“It was not long,” continues Mesnager,² “after this, that he carried me to court, where I followed him through several apartments. At last we were stopped by the queen chancing to pass out of her drawing-room into her closet. We paid our obeisances to her majesty, and passed on. At length we came to a room, where was a table by the fire and a large easy chair, and a card-table with two candles and some loose cards upon it. I found that this was the apartment of the lady I was to meet; that there had been some ladies at cards when the queen came in, on which the ladies all fled; that the queen had sat some time there, and had only just come away when we met her. The lady with whom I had the appointment was attending the queen, but her majesty seeing his lordship and I going on to these apartments, had sent that lady to meet us, by whom we were

¹ Minutes of Negotiation by M. Mesnager, pp. 260–266.

² Ibid.

found in possession of her chamber. When her ladyship entered, my noble introducer, I perceived, paid her the greatest respect, which, though it gave me no light as to her name or quality, yet it imported that she was a person fit for me to talk with," meaning on the subject under discussion between the sovereigns of Great Britain and France.

"After some discourse," proceeds Mesnager, "my friend presented me to her, and told her 'that I was the gentleman in commission from the king of France; so that she might put confidence in all that I should say, and that the court at St. Germain's were very anxious about the share they should have in the negotiations as to the chevalier.' The lady interrupted him, saying, 'Pray, my lord, do not call him by that barbarous name. Call him by anything but that and *Pretender*.'—'I'll call him by no name that shall offend you,' replied the nobleman; 'indeed, I cannot talk of him at all. I refer the whole to this honorable person and yourself.' With that she turned to me [Mesnager], and told me that she should be glad to have a little discourse with me on that head. 'Lord!' exclaimed she, 'how shy these politic people are of one another; they are frightened at shadows. For my part, I fear nothing; I'll hear whatever you can say, sir, and do whatever I can for *him*. Call him by what name you will,' continued she, 'is he not our queen's brother? I know him by that name, or not at all;' and with these words she made me sit down. My lord, who conducted me, withdrew among some ladies who were playing cards in the next room, and," continues Mesnager, "I found myself alone with the lady Masham. I was at a loss how to commence, but she soon let me know that she expected no ceremony." Probably the lady-plenipotentiary imagined that the French envoy paused out of doubt regarding her qualifications for the important office with which she had been invested, for she added, with some tact, "'I know well what you have been doing here, monsieur, for I have been always with the queen when my lord ——¹ has given her majesty an account of the private

¹ Probably Jersey, for he had been the principal negotiator, until death withdrew him suddenly from the treaty, in August, 1711.

discourses you two have had, for this is the room into which the queen always retreated to hear it.' The lady then related to me several heads of our discourses, which convinced me that what she said was true." The veneration excited in the French envoy by this information was excessive; after rising and making the confidante of the queen a sufficient number of court-bows, he offered to show her his credentials. Lady Masham seemed to have been embarrassed by the officiousness of the man. "No, by no means," she replied; "I am no plenipotentiary. But I know the meaning of our interview is, that we should talk of the poor distressed branch of the royal family in exile in your country; *we* are very anxious about him." "Madame," replied Mesnager, "the chief of what I have in commission from the king my master is, to know what is her majesty's pleasure to have done in this case." "And *we* are at the greatest loss about it imaginable," said lady Masham. "*We* must not appear to have the least concern about him; *we* know that the whigs will oblige us to push at his destruction, if possible."—"But, madame," returned Mesnager, "the king hopes you will not go to such a length." Upon which she drew a little table which stood by her nearer, and desired him to sit down; for the polite envoy had risen from the seat where she had first established him, in order to perform all the bows and homages he deemed due to the confidante of queen Anne. "With the most obliging freedom," continues Mesnager, "this lady told me 'that she was glad to have an opportunity to converse with me on this tender subject, for all the ministers were afraid to speak of it, even in private, to the queen herself; but if I thought fit to communicate to her what I was charged with on this head, she could assure me she should not be so shy, but would place the statement before her majesty.'"

The chicanery regarding the interpretation of the Hanoverian succession-clause in the articles of peace was all the French envoy had to propose, and this was little to the satisfaction of the favorite of queen Anne. The cunning diplomatist urged the lady to make, in the name of her

sovereign, some communication respecting her wishes in regard to the disinherited heir of Great Britain; and the lady, with more candor than beseemed a stateswoman, urged the helplessness of her royal mistress, and the cruelty of the case. Two points Mesnager submitted to her consideration. The first was, framing the article of peace which treated of the succession in so ambiguous a manner "that it should either refer to the house of Hanover or to the chevalier St. George, as queen Anne and Louis XIV. might hereafter determine;" the other was, "that the chevalier might, when obliged to withdraw from France, be settled in some country or state at a convenient distance both from France and England." "These," observed the queen's confidante, when taking leave of Mesnager, "are difficult points;" and she added "that she must take time to think of them, but she would have another conference in a day or two." The lady then called the noble lord, "who," observes Mesnager, "was *l'introducteur d'ambassadeurs* for that time, to go out with me."

In the interview which succeeded in the course of three days between lady Masham and Mesnager, they discussed the same points in every possible manner, and the artful negotiator led the lady to the consideration of Lorraine, or some place on the Rhine, as the future abode of the chevalier. Lady Masham, who seemed to state facts with single-heartedness enough, gave the following picture of the position of her royal mistress, of which no one can deny the historical accuracy. "It is," she said, "the present unhappiness of the queen to possess the throne of her brother, to which she had no other claim than what the political measures of the state had made legal, and in some sort necessary. But this," she added, "she truly believed, gave her majesty oftentimes secret uneasiness. Nor was it all the misfortune. By the same necessity of state she was obliged, not only against her disposition, but even against her principles, to promote the continuance of her usurpation, not only beyond her own life, but forever." To this statement lady Masham did not add (for perhaps she did not know the fact), that the severest sting in the

conscience of queen Anne must have been her participation in, and perhaps original invention of, the vile falsehoods that were more injurious to her brother than the inevitable necessity of excluding him from the throne of Great Britain on account of his adherence to his father's religion; for there is dignity in suffering for conscience' sake which is revered by the whole world, and if James Stuart wore no crown, he was at the same time exempt from the cares and anguish of royalty, which had weighed, from time immemorial, peculiarly heavy on his race. Yet he had been doomed, by the machinations of falsifiers, even before his birth, to the scorn of the world as an impostor, and at the same time is very gravely reproached for *inheriting* the fate of the Stuarts, as their representative, by his contemporary historians, though they would neither allow him to have been the son of his father nor his mother.

Lady Masham continued, authorized as she then was to speak in her royal mistress's name, as follows:—"What an inexpressible satisfaction it would be to her majesty to see herself delivered from the fatal necessity of doing so much wrong; and, if it could be possible with safety to the religion and liberties of her subjects, to have her brother restored to his rights, at least after her decease, if it could not be done before. It was true the queen did not see her way clearly through this, and it seemed next to impossible, for the rage and aversion of the greatest part of the common people to the return of her brother had grown to such a height. Nay," proceeded lady Masham, "the queen found it impossible to enter on any treaty of peace without entering at the same time into the strongest engagements possible for confirming the succession to the house of Hanover,—a thing," added she, "that I am sure is all our aversions." Mesnager, according to his own account, made some very lengthy and double-minded replies to these representations. He, however, led the ideas of the favorite, and consequently of the queen, to concur with his previously-expressed recommendation of Lorraine as the best place of retreat for the exiled prince; likewise he agreed

with lady Masham on a mode of correspondence,¹ and promised to furnish a cipher and key for their communications. He entreated that their final interview might be the succeeding evening, because it was more than time that he should be in France, as her majesty's plenipotentiaries were already named, and would be at Utrecht before he could possibly receive his monarch's instructions, and give him personally an account of this negotiation.

Accordingly, the third and last interview with lady Masham took place the following evening. The discussion was chiefly an interchange of compliments. Her ladyship told the French envoy, "that she was charged to let him know how well he was with the queen, and how agreeable it was to her majesty to hear that he was appointed by his royal master, Louis XIV., as one of his plenipotentiaries at Utrecht."—"Lady Masham then went to her cabinet, and calling me to come to her," says the French envoy, "she took out of a purse of crimson velvet, made up like a case and fastened with a gold clasp, her majesty's picture set round with diamonds. I started back a little, and prepared to receive it on my knee, which she understood immediately, but would not suffer me. 'For, sir,' she said, 'I do not tell you that the queen of Great Britain presents you this miniature; but be assured by *it* how satisfactory your visits have been, and how much honor I think it to hand this present to you.' After this I took my leave," pursues Mesnager, "wondering much within myself that such a mean character should be attributed to this lady as some have made public; but I must add, that she seemed to me as worthy of the favor of a queen as any woman I have ever conversed with in my life."²

The secret remorse attributed to queen Anne by her confidante in these remarkable minutes is confirmed by the despatches of the envoy of the elector of Hanover, written about the same time. The envoy gives the following reason for the queen's uneasiness of mind:—"It is certain,"

¹ Some letters which passed between them are appended to the "Minutes;" they are thoroughly destitute of interest or information.

² Minutes of Negotiation by Mesnager, pp. 280-290.

wrote baron Schutz¹ to baron de Bothmar, "that queen Anne attributes the loss of all her children to having dethroned her father, having been very sensibly touched with an affecting letter which he wrote to her before his death, in which he recommended his family to her. It was brought to her hands by madame Oglethorpe, who went twice to France. I have all this from lord Portmore." Mesnager departed to France next day, held his conference with Louis XIV., and joined the congress at Utrecht, as a French plenipotentiary, January 18, 1712.

One of the most remarkable features of the new administration was, that the queen had appointed a clergyman as her principal palace-minister, by placing the privy-seal in the hands of Dr. John Robinson, bishop of Bristol. It was likewise her wish that, through the agency of a prelate of the church of England, her war-wearied people should receive the blessings of peace. It was the first instance of a church-of-England clergyman acting as a cabinet minister in this country since the reign of Charles I. An odd circumstance marked the appointment of bishop Robinson, lord privy-seal, to negotiate the peace at Utrecht. In his short voyage between England and the Low Countries, he experienced a very extraordinary loss; he lost New-year's day,—the New-year's day of 1712; for he set sail on the 29th of December, old style, and he found himself, after two days' prosperous voyage, at his journey's end, considerably advanced in the month of January, for the congress at Utrecht reckoned, like all the Christian world except England and Russia, by the new style. The incident is touched upon, in the Windsor Prophecy, with humorous quaintness by Swift, who declared that when the holy plenipotentiary—

"Shall not see New-year's day in all that year,
Then let old England make good cheer.
Windsor and Bristow² then shall be
Joined together in the Low Countree;
Then shall the tall black Daventry bird
Speak against peace full many a word."

¹ Hanover Papers: Macpherson's Collection, vol. ii. pp. 504, 505.

² Dr. Robinson was dean of Windsor as well as bishop of Bristol, and the peace-congress of Utrecht was, of course, held in the Low Countries.

The earl of Nottingham's tall, dark person is here designated by the allusion to his family name of Finch. It seems he was still most vehement against peace.

The ratification of the peace of Utrecht, perhaps the most trite subject in modern history, cannot occupy much room in these pages, although its heavy memory has been awakened from the sleep into which its own ineffable dullness had consigned it (together with the works of its contemporary historians for nearly a century), by the cry lately raised in its name against the marriage of the duke of Montpensier and the second daughter of Spain.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER XI.

Queen Anne receives an unwelcome ambassador—Her disgust at his tie-wig—Queen presents prince Eugene with a sword worth 4000*l*.—The whig ladies desert the queen's drawing-room—Queen's operatic entertainments—Conspiracy to depose or control the queen—Her farewell audience of prince Eugene—Queen listens to an expounding of prophecy—Receives a Scottish antiquary—Orders the performance of the tragedy of 'Mary Queen of Scots'—Receives news of the death of her sister, Louisa Stuart—Queen's intentions for this princess—Queen ill with an autumnal fever—She is informed of the death of lord Godolphin—Discusses his character with lord Dartmouth—Her reminiscences concerning the Revolution—Other gossiping conversations of the queen—Threats of the duchess of Marlborough to disgrace the queen—Queen protected by her premier, who forces Marlborough to leave England—His duchess gives away the queen's picture and departs—Threatens the queen with printing her letters in Holland—Favor bestowed by the queen on the duke of Hamilton—Her plans reversed by his tragical death—Queen engaged in a dispute regarding the bishopric of Hereford—Her partiality to the duchess of Somerset—Queen's speech to parliament delayed by ill health—Queen announces the peace of Utrecht—Her letters of remonstrance against executions—Queen appoints Swift as dean of St. Patrick's—Alarming illness of the queen—Reports of her death—Her letters to Hanover—Rewards D'Urfey for satirizing the electress Sophia.

THE queen's firmness had to stand a new trial before the final dismissal of the remnant of the Marlborough faction. When the treaty of peace seemed to progress in a decidedly favorable manner before the congress at Utrecht, prince Eugene was sent by the new emperor to England, ostensibly with compliments regarding his election; likewise, to use his powers of persuasion to induce the queen to continue the war at her own expense. It was well known that prince Eugene meant to exert to the utmost his military popularity with the English, as the colleague of Marlborough in most of his victories, to support the war-faction against the queen. Dark hints are thrown out by most

contemporaries relative to the intrigues used by this imperial general and ambassador during his sojourn in London. It is certain that the queen made every possible excuse to delay his visit, and the admiral of her majesty's fleet on the Dutch coast, to avoid sailing, pleaded the contrariety of wind and weather; but the prince came on board, complaining of the loss of his time, and was safely landed at Greenwich, January 6, 1712, despite of all impediments.¹ Leicester house, Leicester square, was the abode assigned to prince Eugene by her majesty.² "He was not to see the queen till six this evening," wrote Swift, January 7th. "I hope and believe he comes too late to do the whig cause any good. I went at six to see him at court, but he was gone in to the queen; and when he came out, Mr. secretary St. John, who introduced him to her majesty, walked so near him that he quite screened him with his great periwig."

The wig costume of the court of the royal Anne was, throughout his visit, a source of no little tribulation to Eugene of Savoy; the eclipse of his person by the flowing periwig of Mr. secretary St. John was the least of his mortifications. He was very soon made sensible that her Britannic majesty had taken offence at his venturing into her august presence without being adorned with one of these formidable appendages. Eugene of Savoy had committed this outrage knowingly and wilfully, for Hoffman, his imperial master's resident-minister, had solemnly warned him of the result before he entered the presence-chamber at St. James's, "that queen Anne could not abide any one that was presented to her without a full-bottomed periwig; whereas his wig was a tied-up wig." The prince, who was already in the royal ante-chamber, exclaimed, "I know not what to do. I never had a long periwig in my life; and I have sent to all my valets and footmen to know whether any of them have one, that I might borrow it, but not one has such a thing."³ He spoke with impatience and con-

¹ Cunningham's History of England, vol. ii. p. 402.

² Swift's Journal, February, 1711-12.

³ Ibid., January 7th; likewise Correspondence.

tempt, which being duly reported to queen Anne, increased her indignation at the intrusion of a tie-wig. The poor queen was, in truth, most unwilling to receive, yet dared not decline, the visit of this unwelcome guest. Forced to treat him publicly with every demonstration of respect, and to order the preparation of costly gifts for his acceptance, yet Anne, in private, gave many indications of sadness and sullenness, and vented her temper to her familiar friends by captious remarks on his dress, especially concerning the improper species of periwig which the Italian hero audaciously carried into her august presence. The beauty of prince Eugene was not sufficiently remarkable to authorize the queen's extreme solicitude respecting his outward adornments; for Swift adds to his description of her warlike visitor, "I saw prince Eugene at court to-day; he is plaguy yellow, and literally ugly besides."¹

Prince Eugene himself was not indifferent in regard to wigs as he chose to affirm. In a letter of lord Galway (written with his left hand, because his right had been cut off, clean as if with a razor, in his late disastrous Spanish campaign), he speaks as if prince Eugene had been making the most elaborate toilet in Christendom, in order to congratulate queen Anne on her birthday,—perhaps to obliterate the disgust and displeasure with which her Britannic majesty had surveyed his tie-wig at his first presentation:—

LORD GALWAY TO LADY RUSSELL.²

"Rookley [1711].

"I thank your ladyship for the news you send. Let prince Eugene be never so careful of getting fine cloaks and a fine wigg, I believe he will not make so good a figure in the assembly as he would at the head of an army, though he is capable of making a good figure anywhere. I believe the spectators will miss the two ladies that have quitted, but especially my lady Sunderland."

The two ladies alluded to by lord Galway were the fair daughters of the handsome duke and duchess of Marl-

¹ Swift's Journal, January 7, 1711-12.

² Copied, by permission, from the Collection of his grace the duke of Devonshire. Lady Russell was not the celebrated Rachel, who had been dead some years.

borough. They manifested no more active enmity to their formerly indulgent royal mistress than perversely depriving her of the splendor of their charms at her tory drawing-room ; they seem to have been persuaded by their flatterers that the queen's receptions would be utterly extinguished without them. The manner in which the discarded faction showed their contempt is thus described :—"The lords and ladies," wrote Swift, "have all their fine clothes ready against the queen's birthday to-morrow. I saw several mighty fine ; and I hope there will be a great appearance, in *spite* of that spiteful French fashion of the whiggish ladies not to come, which they have all resolved, to a woman. I hope it will spirit the queen more against them than ever."

The queen was, soon after, taken with a fit of gout, kept from chapel all Sunday, and was supposed to be politically indisposed. "If the queen's gout increases, it will spoil sport," wrote Swift ; "for prince Eugene has two fine suits made up against her birthday, and her majesty is to present him then with a sword worth 4000*l.*, the diamonds set transparent." The queen's recovery, however, enabled her to keep this remarkable birthday according to the splendid preparations made for its celebration. All the whig officials, ladies and lords, had been cleared out of the court-places, in pursuance of Swift's recent advice, and the new occupants were to be presented to her on their appointments. "The vice-chamberlain told me," wrote Swift, "a few days previously, that lady Rialton, Marlborough's eldest daughter, had yesterday resigned her employment of lady of the bedchamber ; and that lady Jane Hyde, lord Rochester's daughter (a mighty pretty girl) is to succeed. Lady Sunderland, the second Marlborough daughter, is to resign in a day or two." Next day the journal continues :—"It is not lady Jane Hyde who has succeeded lady Rialton as the queen's bedchamber lady, but her aunt, lady Catharine Hyde, daughter of the late lord Rochester, the queen's uncle."

It seems that important birthday of the queen passed off with great *éclat*, notwithstanding the angry secession of the

Marlborough beauties and their faction. Prince Eugene, at the same drawing-room, presented his amiable person before queen Anne, respectfully enveloped in a full-bottomed wig of proper court proportions. "Her majesty did not give him the diamond sword, worth four thousand pounds, with all the world looking on, as expected. The gift was made privately, before the courtiers were admitted; no one was by when her majesty gave the sword to prince Eugene, excepting her lord chamberlain."

"I went to dine at lord Masham's at three that day," wrote Swift, "and met all the company just coming from court (out of St. James's palace),—a mighty crowd; they stayed long for their coaches. I had an opportunity of seeing several lords and ladies of my acquaintance in their fineries." Lady Ashburnham (the beautiful daughter of the duke of Ormonde)¹ was considered the belle of that brilliant birthday. The Marlborough ladies occupied a window in St. James's palace, commanding a view of the whole brilliant scene; to show their disrespect and indifference to the royal birthday, they sat, in the sight of all the court, in their morning wrappers. Lady Wharton, who was of their party, not contented with this passive defiance to her majesty, sallied out, all in her undress (looking hideously ugly, according to Swift's taste), amidst the noble crowd then waiting at St. James's gates until their coachmen and running footmen had fought their way up with their separate carriages. Among the *mêlée* was a new chariot, which cost the owner 950*l.*; "the mob huzzaed it as much as they did prince Eugene." The same evening her majesty was present at one of her favorite musical entertainments, consisting of selections from newly-introduced operas. She was much better the next day, after her exertions; and Swift, who has commemorated her proceedings on this occasion, "lamented that she now took little exercise." By the way, lady Masham and her kinsman Harley are said to have first gained

¹ Swift mentions the untimely death of this lovely young woman, a few weeks afterwards, with more feeling than he is supposed capable of expressing. The deep grief of the duke, her father, seemed infectious.

her majesty's favor by their attention to her taste for concerts.¹

Among these gay reminiscences of queen Anne's tory birthday, rumors existed that a formidable current of events was rolling beneath its courtly splendors. Prince Eugene, all agreed, arrived for the purpose of obstructing the peace. But he is likewise accused of being the leader of a formidable conspiracy against the queen,²—"His advice being to the duke of Marlborough, to suborn the bands of ruffians called Mohawks to scour the streets by night, and strike terror in the populace, by whom the queen was beloved; to set fire to London in different places, especially the palace of St. James's, where the queen then lodged, when the guards on duty were commanded by an officer in the whig interest; that Marlborough, at the head of the guards, should seize the Tower, the Bank, and public offices, make the queen prisoner, and by terror force her to sign warrants for inquiry into the Jacobite correspondence of Abigail Masham, Harley, and Bolingbroke, put them to death, and force her to dissolve parliament. There is," says Coxe, "no evidence of the truth of these intentions but the letters of Plunket the Jacobite." Such may be the case, but the contemporary assertions of Plunket are confirmed by much collateral evidence, which may be gathered from historians even of the whig party, besides the current report that many of the leaders of the whig faction were personally engaged in nocturnal acts of violence. Among others, it is said that Thomas Burnet, the profligate son of the bishop,³ was publicly pointed out as the most mischiev-

¹ Cunningham's History of Great Britain. The fact that they organized such entertainments for queen Anne is very likely, but is only preserved by this author, although Abigail Masham's taste for music, as well as mimicry, is once mentioned in her cousin of Marlborough's manuscripts; likewise that her brother, Jack Hill, sang well, and was a good mimic.

² Coxe MSS.; Brit. Museum. Hamilton's historical work, "Transactions of the Reign of Anne," enters into a well-digested narrative of the proceedings of Eugene at his English visit, which induces belief that his party had worse intentions at this period than general history avows.

³ Swift's Journal. The reverend historian was not felicitous in the reputation and conduct of his sons. Thomas Burnet, all parties agree, was a daring reprobate, although, in times when party influence carried all before it,

ous amongst the Mohawk ruffians. The mysterious alarms concerning the Mohawks were likewise accompanied by superstitious terrors. According to a contemporary, Alexander Cunningham, "these evil-doers were never seen in daylight,—nay, many persons averred they were never seen at all; yet they tormented women and children, or helpless and infirm men, whom they caught in the streets at night. Great talk of marvellous dreams, and the appearance of demons and spirits, witches and hags, was prevalent. It is supposed these follies were deliberately invented to divert the thoughts of the people from the negotiations of peace that were then proceeding." However that may be, party rage broke into madness at this juncture; *war-mobs* and *peace-mobs* traversed the streets of London, and a very tragic event took place in consequence. "As prince Eugene's nephew was passing along the streets, and rashly encountering some of the mean and furious rabble, he was so roughly handled by them that he fell sick and died."¹ Not long after this accident, prince Eugene had his farewell audience of the queen, and withdrew from this country March 13th, wishing, perhaps, that he had permitted the islanders to settle their disputes without his interference.

In the spring of 1712, Lloyd, the bishop of Worcester, then an aged man, demanded an audience of queen Anne, and with much mystery, said, "that he thought it his duty to acquaint her that the city of Rome would be utterly destroyed by fire, and the church of Rome extinct in less than four years; and that if her majesty would have the patience to listen to him, he would prove it beyond all contradiction." The queen made an appointment with him in the forenoon of the next day. A great Bible was sent for, which was all the bishop of Worcester said he

he subsequently adorned the bench. Among his other exploits, sir Walter Scott affirms that he wrote the witty Jacobite song on his own father's death, commencing,—

"The fiends were all brawling,
When Burnet descending."

¹ Cunningham's History of Great Britain, vol. iv. pp. 401, 402.

required. He brought the queen's aged tutor, Compton bishop of London, with him. The queen ordered the duke of Shrewsbury, Harley lord Oxford, lord Dartmouth,¹ and her favorite physician, Dr. Arbuthnot, to be present at this exposition of prophecy. The ancient bishop, then upwards of eighty years of age, showed great memory and ingenuity in his quotations and application of texts; but, unfortunately, the earl of Oxford differing with him, though most civilly, as to the interpretation of one, the bishop fell into a violent rage, and, turning to the queen, exclaimed, "So says your treasurer; but God says otherwise, whether he like it or no!" The queen, seeing the bishop both angry and very rude, thought the best way of deciding the dispute was to call for her dinner. The bishop, however, went on before the queen could make her retreat. He said, intemperately, "that if he did not know what was truth, he was a very unfit person to be trusted with explaining the gospels, and therefore desired the queen to dispose of his bishopric to some person of greater abilities, if what he said did not prove true;" then bending forward, he spoke some words to the queen in a very low voice, that no one might hear but her majesty, who told lord Dartmouth afterwards that the bishop said, "that when four years were expired, the Saviour would reign personally on the earth for a thousand years."²

The outbreak of fanatical rage in the revolutionary bishop Lloyd was in all probability excited by his political jealousy of an envoy, then at queen Anne's court, soliciting some relief for the distressed and depressed members of the Episcopal church of Scotland; and the report went that queen Anne had at heart the restoration of Scottish episcopacy,—not only to toleration, but to some part of the subsistence of which William III. had deprived them.³

¹ He relates this scene in his *Notes to Burnet's Own Times*, vol. i. p. 327.

² *Notes to Burnet's Own Times*, vol. i. p. 327. He lived to see the futility of his prophecies. He had been a fanatical dissenter of the times of the civil wars.

³ Most of the documentary historians of this period, among others Lockhart of Carnwath, mention the consternation and distress of the Scotch when they found that the country was not relieved from the *tithes* of the Episcopalian

James Anderson, who had written on the subject, was presented to her majesty, with the ostensible object of showing her some very fine seals and ancient charters which he had collected. The queen looked at them as graciously as if she had known their uses, and seemed to be greatly delighted with them; then, turning to lord Oxford, said, "It was her wish that something might be done for Mr. Anderson." His lordship replied, "That her majesty need not press him to take care of that gentleman, for he was *the* man he designed, out of regard to his great knowledge, to distinguish in a particular manner." The distinction proved, however, nothing but a request to sit for his picture, that it might take its place in the Harleian collection of resemblances of celebrated men. Such was by no means the intention of the queen, for as Anderson had impoverished his fortune by his historical collections, which would have been otherwise lost to the world, she had designed for him more solid remuneration, in place or pension.¹

Another anecdote of queen Anne connected with literature, comprises all that can be quoted concerning any personal interest she took in it. In all such instances, unlike her grandfather Charles I., or other relatives of the Stuart line, she never used any judgment of her own, but deferred to that of others. The tragedy of 'Mary Queen of Scots' had been written twenty years, by John Banks, but had been rejected, in the reigns of William and Mary, by the master of the revels, who saw political spectres in every one of the *dramatis personæ*. The queen at last heard it mentioned by one of her literary nobles, and requested him to read it, and give her his opinion of the dangers the play contained. He assured the queen the composition "was

church, but that the dues of the bishops, etc., were granted by William III. to partisans who had aided him in attaining his ambitious ends. Thus, although the church was overthrown, the Scotch were not relieved from its payments, but were in worse case than before; for the church clergy spent their incomes among them, but the grantees were absentees, who took the money out of the country, and exacted rigorously the rack-rent from every one. Scotland was still suffering much from this cause in the reign of queen Anne.—Lockhart of Carnwath, vol. i. p. 367.

¹ Lockhart of Carnwath, vol. i. p. 371.

every way an innocent piece ;" on which the queen herself gave orders to her lord chamberlain for its performance.¹

The unexpected death of queen Anne's younger sister at St. Germain, it is said, occasioned her majesty an access of grief, which she felt more acutely than anything that had befallen her since the death of her consort, George of Denmark. The queen showed lord Dartmouth a letter addressed to her, which Louis XIV. had written throughout with his own hand, announcing to her the death of the young princess Louisa Stuart, her sister, in which the king had represented her as a most exalted character. The death of the fair young princess made a sensation in Great Britain which can be little appreciated in these days. Lord Godolphin, who had always the earliest intelligence from France, sent his confidential agent, Richard Hill, to lord Dartmouth with the news, adding this observation, "that it was the very worst that ever came to England."—"Why does he think so?" asked lord Dartmouth. "Because," replied his informant, "if anything had happened to the brother, and this admirable young princess had been spared, queen Anne would have sent for her, and married her to a prince George² who could have no pretensions during her life ; and this measure would have pleased every honest man in the realm, and made an end of all disputes in future."³

Queen Anne was destined to see every expectation for the continuation of the English succession by her near relatives vanish before the inexorable fiat of death. Perhaps the country would have permitted the youngest daughter of their royal line to have retained her religion as the former queen-consorts had done, if she had been married to a Lutheran prince, yet there was no reason to suppose that she would have been less firm in 'its tenets than her brother ; she must, therefore, have been very

¹ Colley Cibber's Apology, 318.

² Lord Dartmouth must mean *Frederic*, father of our George III., the eldest son of George, hereditary prince of Hanover (George II.). Frederic was ten years younger than the princess.

³ Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. vi. p. 112.

unhappy in England. Some consciousness of the worldly conflicts that peradventure had awaited her if she had survived, must have inspired her with the remarkable satisfaction with which she welcomed death in the very flower of her existence.¹

The lamentations of all degrees of the English people for this young princess² (of whom even Burnet gives a high character) were inconsistent enough, since she was of the same obnoxious faith as her brother; and 'the only crime he had committed, to account for the hatred and abuse with which he was pursued, was his difference of religion. A large portion of the people, it is true, believed the absurd falsehood in regard to his spurious birth which queen Anne herself had fastened on him before he was born,—an iniquity which now began to glare on her conscience. Her unfortunate brother was still persecuted by those who capriciously lamented his sister Louisa. He had scarcely recovered from the same dire disease which had mercifully taken away the companion of his youth, when the envoys of queen Anne were forced to hunt him from his adopted country before the peace could be ratified.³ M. de Torcy, Louis XIV.'s negotiating minister, says:—"You may assure queen Anne, that the chevalier is ready to depart at a moment's warning, if he did but know where he was to go. I own to you that I know no prince willing to receive him, for fear of displeasing the queen."⁴ Meantime abbé Gualtier was actively recommending the chevalier to the affections of his sister by the agency of lady Masham, lady Jersey, and, perhaps, the duke of Buckingham. The Torcy correspondence expressly mentions, "that the whole proceedings between Gualtier and Mesnager, in connection with the English ministers, were transacted *verbally*, as neither Harley, St. John, or Prior dared commit them to writing;"⁵ neither dared the queen commit herself by one

¹ See vol. vi., Life of Mary Beatrice, for a full account of the death of this young sister of queen Anne.

² See Macpherson's Stuart Papers, vol. ii.

³ Addressed to Mr. secretary St. John, from the French minister, De Torcy.

—History of Parliament of Great Britain, reign of queen Anne, etc., p. 106.

⁴ Ibid., June 22d; N. S., July 10, 1712; Torcy to St. John. ⁵ Ibid., p. 107.

word uttered beyond the privacy of lady Masham's boudoir, and she carried on this reserve even before persons whom she supposed were Jacobite agents. For instance, monsieur de Plessen had been of the prince of Denmark's household; he had constant access to the queen when in London, which he sometimes visited: he was (unknown to the queen and the tory ministry) a spy of the whigs. The extreme caution of the queen is manifest by his report. "I talked," says Plessen,¹ in his report to his employers, "one hour for three successive days to the queen about the prince of Wales, without her making a word of answer or interruption; but directly I turned the discourse on the family of the elector of Hanover, her majesty always began to speak of something else."

An autumnal fever was prevalent in England during September, 1712, which very severely visited the royal household after the queen had retired to Windsor. Forty persons were ill at the same time at the castle, yet no apprehensions existed that the queen would be injured by the intermittent. Such was, however, the case; and it is very plain that her health never wholly rallied after it. "Yesterday" (September 8th), wrote Swift, in his journal, "we were all alarmed with the queen's being ill. She had an aguish and feverish fit, and you never saw such countenances as we all had,—such dismal melancholy. Her physicians from town were sent for." The lord treasurer, Oxford, received accounts from Dr. Arbuthnot of the progress of this malady. From the following inedited letter of the prime-minister, the state of the queen may be ascertained :—

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO DR. ARBUTHNOT.²

"Sept. 7, 1712, past four.

"SIR :—

"Unless you knew the concerne I was under, which, with reason, kept me the night waking, you cannot conceive how welcome your letter was to me, which my messenger brought me before one o'clock. I trust in God's mercy

¹ Schutz to Bothmar; Hanover Papers, Macpherson's Collection, vol. ii. p. 505.

² From the original in the possession of W. Baillie, Esq., from his MS. Arbuthnot Papers.

that he will bring me an account to-morrow of the queen's passing this ensuing night well, without any return of a fever. I have ordered the messenger to wait your time, until you despatch him to-morrow morning.

"I am, with true respect, sir,

"Your most faithful and most humble servant,

"OXFORD.

"The weather is extremely cold here."

Endorsed—"To Dr. Arbuthnot."

The queen, when convalescent, received the news of the death of her old servant, the earl of Godolphin, who had been thirty years in the treasury department, and superintended it in the latter years of his life as lord treasurer: he did not long survive his dismissal by his royal mistress. He afterwards lived with the Marlboroughs, and died at Windsor lodge, the favorite residence of the duchess. The queen affected, at his death, to consider him with regard; for when lord Dartmouth brought her the intelligence of his demise, she testified some concern,—she even wept a little, or seemed so to do. Her majesty told Dartmouth¹ that "she could not help it, for she had a long acquaintance with him, and did believe that whatever offence he had given her was owing to the influence the Marlborough family had over him, but she did not think him to be naturally an interested man." To this leading question lord Dartmouth replied, "That he always considered lord Godolphin's assumption of disinterestedness as grimace; for though he affected to refuse everything before he received it, yet he had contrived to make his family heir to *theirs* [the Marlboroughs], and could, therefore, with more decency promote their interest than his own, and was sure of having the advantage at last." It may be guessed that her majesty's assumption of concern for the death of Godolphin was only grimace likewise, for at this keen stroke on the defunct given by lord Dartmouth, she laughed, and said, "Truly, she had observed a good deal of that herself." Her majesty closed the conversation by requesting that all scurrilities coming out on the subject of his death and character might be suppressed.

Lord Godolphin, it seems, had died poor, and this fact

¹ Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet, vol. vi. pp. 134, 135.

Hardwick Castle

Entrance to the Presence Chamber



Dartmouth repeated to her majesty.¹ Then the queen revealed to that lord one of those anecdotes of her private history which she alone could tell. "I am sorry," said her majesty, "that he has suffered in my service, since he was not poor at the Revolution, when he brought me twenty thousand guineas, and entreated me to take care of them, which I did for some time after, and they were constantly with me wheresoever I went."² The fact thus recorded by Anne's own lips raises some curious queries. Was it a sum which Godolphin had wrongfully abstracted from the treasury for her flight? Now he was in his grave, he could not contradict any version the queen might give of it. Godolphin was a younger brother, very poor, and likely ever to remain so, since he was the most inveterate gambler of an age surpassing all others in a vice which was peculiarly dangerous for a lord of the treasury to indulge in. Twenty thousand guineas were no light incumbrance for the fugitive princess, if the circumstances of her flight from the Cockpit be remembered; nor could that solid weight of treasure be conveyed from place to place, according to the words of the queen, "wheresoever she went," without many persons giving assistance and having cognizance thereof. The Marlboroughs, after the enmity between them and their once-indulgent mistress swelled to an alarming height, always threatened to disclose some secret which would cover her with disgrace. Anne shrank and cowered beneath the shaking of this terrific rod until after 1712, when Godolphin died and the Marlboroughs went into voluntary banishment. The tale they had to tell, it is possible, related to this twenty thousand guineas, and they had to say "that Anne had robbed her father, as well as betrayed him." But even if it were so, the people, who had seen her wretched father vainly send to his other daughter for his clothes, would have been indifferent to a mass of money, more or less, abstracted from his well-regulated treasury; since, if Godolphin had not handed it to Anne, some one might have stolen it who had not so good a right to it.

¹ Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet, vol. vi. pp. 134, 135.

² Ibid.

In the course of another of the queen's conversations with lord Dartmouth, they recapitulated the offices which had been recently held by lord Godolphin's family. His son, lord Rialton, was cofferer to the crown; lady Rialton, one of the daughters of the Marlboroughs, had been lady of the bedchamber to the queen for eight years; yet, in this gossiping dialogue, her majesty and lord Dartmouth agreed that the whole three lived very meanly, considering the great and profitable posts they filled. If Godolphin were the incurable and unlucky gamester that Horace Walpole affirms, her majesty need not have sought further for the solution of an enigma which seems to have puzzled her. Lord Dartmouth considers that queen Anne and her lord treasurer,¹ Godolphin, held some secret correspondence until his death; this was possibly connected with her exiled relatives at St. Germain's. Much has been said of the life-long, hopeless love that Godolphin cherished for the exiled queen of James II.; but whether that passion rendered him more sincere in his Jacobite correspondence than Marlborough, Shrewsbury, and the rest, is still an unresolved question. As to his passion, those who view the solemn ugliness of his bust in Westminster abbey, or in the engravings in Grainger, and recollect that this frightfulness of feature was bespread with the deepest olive tint that ever dyed the skin of an Englishman, will be apt to exclaim with Parnell's hunchback:—

“This creature dared to love!”

For two years previously to the death of Godolphin the queen had been kept in a state of perpetual agony by the base threats of the duchess of Marlborough that she would publish the whole of her majesty's letters to her when she was princess. The people were, however, if we may believe

¹ There is a curious monument in Kensington church, with a long biographical epitaph, mentioning a lady as Mrs. *Jael* Godolphin (strong lapses towards Judaism must the sectarians of that day have made, to induce one to name a daughter *Jael*). This name-child of her of the hammer and nail is rather pompously announced as the “sister of the first lord *treasurer* of Great Britain,” a puzzling assertion to those who do not remember that the legal union of Scotland with England was effected while he was prime-minister.

a contemporary, perfectly infuriated at the threats; and the word went among them, "that if the duchess of Marlborough published ought to vex or wound her royal benefactress, they would tear her to pieces if they caught her in the streets."¹ There was one series of letters in which Anne had bestowed the epithets of "Caliban" and "Dutch monster" on William III., who was set up as a sort of idol by the whigs, high and low, and by them such documents would have been regarded as little less than sacrilege. Harley, lord Oxford, astutely relieved his mistress from the terrors of her tormentors; as he himself corresponded with the exiled court, he wrote to the widow of James II., and obtained a letter from her papers at St. Germain, supposed to be the original of one of Marlborough's base communications, which betrayed general Tollemache and his armament to their certain destruction at Brest, in June, 1694. Marlborough's life was then in Harley's hands, yet there is little doubt but that he could have recriminated dangerously on the queen, although her prime-minister might not be equally compromised. Lord Oxford had an interview, at his brother Mr. Thomas Harley's house, with the duke of Marlborough, who came by a back-door in a sedan. He was shown this letter to king James II., and immediately after left England.²

The duchess of Marlborough followed her husband a few weeks afterwards. Before she left England, she sent to lord Dartmouth for a passport: he sent her one signed by the queen. The duchess sent it back, with the insolent message, "that if one signed only by lord Dartmouth were not sufficient, she would depart without one." She appears to have been in a state of desperation because she could

¹ Ralph's *Other Side of the Question*, being an answer to the *Conduct*.

² Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45, where this infamous letter is prefixed to the notes. From the same authority is the curious circumstance, that the archbishop of York, the grandson of lord Oxford, told sir John Dalrymple that, after Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, returned triumphantly on the death of queen Anne, she contrived to get the original of this dangerous paper from among the papers of Harley, lord Oxford, and destroyed it. She little thought that others would come to light with the *Memoirs of king James II.* and the *Stuart Papers*, together with copies of the same.

not aggravate the queen into any active resentment of her insolent conduct, and to have been at her wits' end to discover what she could do to vex her majesty the most. A fine enamel miniature of the queen, when princess, had been one of the early love-tokens of their friendship; the duchess, before she left the country, broke the portrait from its rich diamond setting, which she kept for herself, and gave it away to a Mrs. Higgins, a decayed gentlewoman about the palace.¹ As this lady understood the present was meant as an affront to the queen rather than a favor to herself, she brought the enamel to lord Oxford, who took it for his own collection, and gave Mrs. Higgins one hundred guineas. The enamel must have been worth its magnificent price, for portraits of Anne before her accession are extremely scarce, and hardly to be met with: excepting the fine one in possession of his grace the duke of Devonshire, at Hardwick, it would be difficult to point out one of her, when princess.

Queen Anne was henceforward relieved from the actual presence of her enemy in England, but not wholly of her annoyances. The queen's life was, perhaps, shortened by the perpetual threats of the duchess of Marlborough from the continent to reveal somewhat which would be painful and disgraceful, and at all events to publish, by means of the venal press of Holland, which in that day perpetually poured forth libels on all the royal families in Europe, the letters which had passed between them. The duchess of Marlborough, however, threatened more than she meant to perform, at least in the queen's lifetime; for she well knew that she should compromise the "glorious memory" of William III., which was to be sustained in order to assist the revolutionists in carrying on their work,² and if they did not succeed, she was aware her banishment would be perpetual.

¹ Lord Dartmouth's *Notes to Burnet*, vol. vi. p. 135. Swift mentions the incident, but Dartmouth preserves the fact that it was Anne's portrait in her youth.

² This reason for the extravagant eulogiums on William III. is given by Cunningham, his most extravagant eulogist.

The queen's guards paid her majesty the loyal attention of making an enormous bonfire at the gates of St. James's palace, November 5, 1712, into which they put the effigy of the Pretender. They shot at the resemblance all the time it was consuming,¹ and, with volleys of oaths, asserted their eager wishes for an opportunity of making the living original undergo the same process. From the Torcy correspondence, as well as the letters of queen Mary Beatrice, it may be traced "that the chevalier still lingered at Châlons-sur-Marne at Christmas, new style, 1712, as the king of France would not permit him to depart without a proper protection from the emperor and queen Anne, lest he should be murdered by the emperor's freebooting squadrons of hussars."

The attachment of lady Masham to the exiled family must have been disinterested, otherwise she could have satiated herself with wealth. She was placed, as her kindred the Marlboroughs had been, at the fountain-head: she had only to follow their example. Her cousin, the queen's prime-minister, Harley, earl of Oxford, was not only no Jacobite, but the most effectual of all the opponents of the queen's brother. Yet his opposition was neither personal nor religious; it was more powerful, being entirely financial. When he took office in 1710, the revolutionary whigs had so completely exhausted the resources of the country, that it was utterly impossible for them to proceed any farther. Harley's skill in finance arranged and organized the enormous debts (which had accumulated throughout the profligate government of William III.) according to the present system, rather curiously called the "national funds." Neither himself nor the fundholders can be blamed for the national debt: neither of them incurred it, and utter anarchy and national degradation must have ensued, if some means had not been found of satisfying the national creditors. It does not appear that Harley, earl of Oxford, in any way profited dishonorably by his own financial scheme, although, after his fall, the very party who had

¹ Malcolm's *Anecdotes of Customs and Manners*, p. 258.

incurred the debt did so to an enormous extent.¹ The unfortunate heir of the house of Stuart positively refused to guarantee this debt, in case he was restored. He knew that it had been incurred to overthrow his family, and had he been restored, it would have weighed down his government, while party injustice would have made him accountable for it. It is evident that Harley, earl of Oxford, could not be the premier of any monarch who repudiated the debt he had funded.

Those of our readers who have the patience to read this dull page, for which apologies are due, will comprehend the deep historical mystery why Harley, earl of Oxford, constantly reviled as a Jacobite, proved the most effectual opponent James Stuart had,—not maliciously so, but rather in obedience to, inexorable necessity. Harley's chief fault was a habit of intoxication. He appears to have had recourse to drink as an evil medicament for his cares; yet he was neither a profligate nor licentious drunkard, but a mild, merciful, and learned man. His inclinations and affections probably led him to the Jacobite cause, as may be guessed by the tenor of his valuable manuscript collections. These, being greatly amplified by his learned and excellent son, Edward, earl of Oxford, form the precious manuscript national library, now deposited at the British Museum, called the Harleian Collection.

Young St. John, secretary of state (afterwards created lord Bolingbroke), was the colleague of the earl of Oxford, and was soon after his enemy. Bolingbroke was daringly irreligious, and was considered, withal, an abandoned character, even in that atrocious age. He was, however, handsome, learned, and full of genius. He was a Jacobite, without the slightest attachment to the Stuarts; completely reckless how far he went in the cause of the Pretender, so that change gave him a chance of obtaining money to repair the fortune he had exhausted by his profligacy.

Dr. Arbuthnot, the queen's favorite physician, was a man

¹ See the chapter on the South-Sea bubble, in lord Mahon's History of England from the Peace of Utrecht.

of practical philanthropy, possessed of equal abilities with Swift, but restrained by the bonds of decorum and benevolence. He was a thorough and disinterested Jacobite, an ally of lady Masham, ever near the ear and the heart of the queen.

Queen Anne's learned lady of the bedchamber, Anne, countess of Winchelsea, had been one of the maids of honor of Mary Beatrice when duchess of York, well known under her maiden name as the witty and beautiful Anne Kingsmill. Her Jacobite influence with queen Anne is never calculated in general history, but those versed in the signs of those times know that it was considerable. The dislike that her royal mistress had to the war is alluded to in some lines playfully addressed to her by Pope; for lady Winchelsea, or Ardelia, which was her poetic name, had objected to Pope's depreciation of the talents and power of women. She had quoted four lines from his *Rape of the Lock* in support of her side of the argument. Pope wrote the following verses, which are not to be found in the editions of his works, but in that vast repository of fugitive literature, the *Biographia Britannica* :—

“Of all examples by the world confest,
I knew Ardelia would not quote the *best*,
Who, like her mistress on the British throne,
Fights and subdues in quarrels not her own.

“To write their praise you but in vain essay,
Even while you write you take that praise away;
Light to the stars the sun does thus restore,
But shines himself till they are seen no more.”

Lady Winchelsea's answer to the favorite poet of “the golden days of his queen Anne” ought to be given, as a specimen of the female poetry of that era :—

“Disarmed with so genteel an air,
The contest I give o'er;
Yet, Alexander, have a care,
And scorn the sex no more.

“We rule the world, our life's whole race,
Men but assume the right;
First slaves to every tempting face,
Then martyrs to our spite.”

Lady Winchelsea, lately left a widow with small provision, was a devoted partisan of the house of Stuart: she was always near the royal person. This lady was a pleasant rhymestress, and possessed some personal influence, but was without territorial power, like the rich heiress of Percy, the influential duchess of Somerset.

Lady Jersey, one of the queen's bedchamber ladies, likewise a widow, had been throughout life attached to the house of Stuart; born in their ancient palace of Whitehall, the only daughter of William Chiffinch (Charles II.'s closet-keeper), and married to lord Jersey. She was a Roman Catholic; at the same time, her influence was sufficiently powerful over her husband, and even over his sisters, to induce them, apparently against their own interest, to become warm Jacobites after the death of Mary II. Extraordinary as it may seem, Elizabeth Villiers, who had profited so largely by the Revolution, and was endowed by William III. so enormously from the spoils of his uncle, was now (as lady Orkney) conspicuous as a Jacobite.

At the head of the partisans for the restoration of her family, the queen distinguished her kinsman, the great duke of Hamilton, on whom she meant to bestow the honor of concluding the peace as her ambassador to France. In September, 1712, queen Anne appointed the duke of Hamilton master-general of the ordnance, and, in addition to the order of the Thistle, originally bestowed on him by her father, James II., her majesty thought proper to make him a knight of the Garter, at a chapter held at Windsor. It was remarked to the queen that the case was without precedent, and that no two such distinct orders had ever been worn by any subject; to which the queen replied:—"Such a subject as the duke of Hamilton has a pre-eminent claim to every mark of distinction which a crowned head can confer. I will henceforth wear both orders myself."¹ Lockhart of Carnwath, the duke's school-fellow and bosom friend, gives a somewhat different version of this anecdote of queen Anne. "Just before the intended departure of the duke for France," says Lockhart, "the

¹ Douglas's Peerage.

queen's favor was shown to him by the offer of the Garter. The duke positively refused it, unless the queen would permit him to wear the order of the Thistle with it, telling her majesty plainly, 'that he would never lay aside a Scotch honor to make way for an English one,' adding, significantly, 'your majesty's royal father, James II., wore both at the same time.' His observation not only prevailed on queen Anne to permit him to do the like, but from that moment she did so herself,"—an anecdote of costume which seems to have escaped the learned in the orders of chivalry.¹ A personal portrait of this great noble and prince of the blood is thus drawn by an enemy of his party, the whig spy, Mackey:²—"The duke of Hamilton is brave in his person, with a rough air of boldness, of good sense, very forward and hot for what he undertakes, ambitious and haughty, a violent enemy, has been very extravagant in his manner of living, but now grows covetous; he is supposed to have some thoughts towards the crown of Scotland when the queen dies, being descended from the house of Stuart, and having great interest in that kingdom. He has a great estate, and three brothers earls,—being Selkirk, Orkney, and Ruglen,—and a fourth a sea commander. The duke of Hamilton is of middle stature, very well made, of a coarse, black complexion, towards fifty years old."³ To this sketch Swift added, "The duke of Hamilton was a most worthy, good-natured man, very generous, but of a *middle* understanding,—murdered by the villain Macartney."

The adventures of the youth of the duke of Hamilton present one of those romances of real life, wherein the facts of historical biography, preserved peradventure only in the rolls of family heralds or the archives of a family muniment-chest, surpass the inventions of the authors of

¹ Lockhart of Carnwath's Papers, vol. i. p. 410. He adds, reproachfully, that the duke of Argyle had acted quite differently; for, when given the Garter, he threw aside the order of St. Andrew, showing thereby how much he preferred England to Scotland.

² From Mackey's Characters, republished by sir Walter Scott, in his edition of Swift's Works, with Swift's remarks and interlineations.

³ He had been, nevertheless, one of the handsomest men in Scotland.

fiction. The following narrative, in which queen Anne's eldest sister, Mary II., played a conspicuous part, is collected from genealogical memorials:¹—"James, earl of Arran, afterwards duke of Hamilton, having, after the death of his first wife, Anne Spencer, in 1690, seduced lady Barbara Fitzroy (the youngest daughter of Charles II. by the duchess of Cleveland), under promise of marriage, she bore a son to him at Cleveland house, St. James's, 30th of March, 1691, during his confinement in the Tower, where he was thrown by the warrant of queen Mary II. That queen and his mother, the duchess of Hamilton, were so incensed at the discovery of this intrigue, as to make the banishment of the unfortunate girl, then only in her eighteenth year, to the continent the only condition of his release. Lady Barbara was accordingly forced to abandon her infant and retire to the convent of Pontoise, in France, where she afterwards died." It would have been more in consistency with the angelic characteristics attributed to queen Mary, if she had used her power for the purpose of inducing the earl of Arran to repair his wrongs, in some measure, by a legal marriage with his victim, the daughter of her uncle Charles, than to drive her into a foreign land and a conventual prison.

If queen Anne ever cherished either hopes or intentions of making her unfortunate brother her successor, they perished and became abortive when her friend, the duke of Hamilton, was slain, or murdered, on the fatal Sunday, November 15, 1712, at the time of his encounter with lord Mohun, in a combat of four in Hyde park. A tradition exists in Scotland, that a secret agreement had taken place between the widowed queen of James II. and the "great duke of Hamilton," that lord Arran, his heir, was to receive in marriage the hand of the princess Louisa Stuart, youngest daughter of James II., and sister to queen Anne. Whether the bride was to be a reward for the active

¹ This narrative is from Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*; likewise from the Introduction of "*Transactions of the Reign of Queen Anne*," written by the son of the duke and lady Barbara, who was brought up at Chiswick, under the care of his vile grandmother, Barbara, duchess of Cleveland, and afterwards entered the service of James II.

services of the great duke in the restoration of the brother, —whether queen Anne ever knew of this project, must remain unsolved. Death had decided the history of that young princess in the preceding spring. “All hopes and fears,” says the duke of Hamilton’s friend, Lockhart, “vanished by his fatal death, which, by reason of the critical juncture when it happened, and some things very extraordinary in the manner of it, made then a great noise.” There was at the court of Anne a titled homicide and profligate, called lord Mohun, who had been twice tried for his life for murdering men of low degree in the state of furious intoxication which was prevalent at that period. The first victim was poor Montfort, the player: a more unprovoked piece of cruelty was never recorded on any state trial. It was without excuse, excepting what the titled criminal pleaded,—that he was utterly unconscious of time, place, and existence when it occurred.

The duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun had married ladies of the house of Gerard, and bitter enmity existed between them on account of property then litigated in chancery, to which the ladies were co-heiresses: they met at the examination of some witnesses, when a violent altercation ensued. The duke of Hamilton, supposed to be at that time deeply pledged to the queen relative to negotiations for her brother’s restoration, endured much from the furious temper of Mohun, being resolved to keep himself out of all engagements likely to impede his exertions in that cause; suspecting, moreover, that Mohun (who was known to be no personal hero when sober) was exasperated and irritated purposely by the opposite party, in hopes of exciting a fatal fray. Be this as it may, a challenge was sent by Mohun to the duke, who considered himself bound to accept it. Of all days in the week, Sunday was the time appointed for this combat, which seems to be the last of that remarkable species where the seconds were expected to engage as well as the principals, and fight to the death. Such had been the usage in France in the preceding century. In the minorities of Louis XIII. and XIV., eleven combatants on a side have been known to enter into mortal

conflict, and ten or twelve were often left dead on the spot,¹ victims to some "trifle light as air," taken amiss by two young petulant nobles,—some obeisance forgotten, some precedence mistaken, or even some glance construed into contempt. The proceedings of the duke of Hamilton would be inexplicable without this explanation; for people, in these days, sometimes hear of duels between two principals, but not of so bellicose a spirit reigning among the seconds and other witnesses.

Hyde park was then a wild track, reaching to the gravel-walk before Kensington palace, broken into marshy thickets where the Serpentine now flows. That piece of water then wound deviously as a rushy rivulet, here and there accumulating in stagnant pools, near which were the fighting-grounds usually chosen for those who had affairs of honor to settle. Behind a thicket near the Serpentine brook did the great duke of Hamilton, with his kinsman and friend colonel Hamilton, meet lord Mohun and the whig general Macartney, in the dawn of a November Sunday. Mohun really behaved the most rationally of the two opponents, for whilst he and the duke were throwing off their coats for the encounter, he observed, "that he hoped those two gentlemen seconds were only to look on, and not be personally concerned in any part of the quarrel." The duke answered, "that he believed Mr. Macartney was the chief occasion of their coming on this errand; and since it was so, he had brought an old friend of that person, to entertain him with a share of the dance." All four immediately flashed out their swords and "fell to work." Colonel Hamilton soon disarmed Macartney, and looking about to see what had become of the other combatants, he perceived lord Mohun lying on his back, dead or expiring: the duke of Hamilton had fallen with his face upon lord Mohun's bosom. Colonel Hamilton instantly flung down his own sword and that of Macartney, of which he had just ob-

¹ Cardinal de Retz assures his readers, that in his fiery youth, when known as abbé de Gondi, he had been engaged in such duels twice in one day, and he had known challenges pass at the altar among the officiating priests of noble birth.

tained full possession; he ran and lifted up the duke of Hamilton, who he saw was wounded in two places, and faint with effusion of blood. Whilst performing this friendly office, Macartney took up one of the swords, and coming behind Hamilton as he supported the duke in his arms, he stabbed his grace, who walked, nevertheless, some little way to a tree, where he soon after expired: the park-keepers came up at that moment, and Macartney fled. Colonel Hamilton, alarmed, he said, "at being found with the corpses of two great nobles, followed his example;" but he ever protested that the duke of Hamilton was not slain, but assassinated after the fight was done. The proof he alleged was, that if the duke had been wounded to death by his opponent's sword, the orifice of the wound would have been different, since Mohun fought with a Saxon blade, which was left in his dead hand, whereas the duke's death-wound had a three-cornered orifice. "It was," said colonel Hamilton, "done with mine own sword, which I had cast on the ground unwittingly with the one of Macartney's (which I had captured), when I flew to aid my noble kinsman." Dr. Garth (before the matter was made a furious party-question with the whigs) affirmed, on the word of a medical man, that it was utterly impossible for lord Mohun to have given Hamilton the death-wound, which must have been inflicted by some one standing above him: this agreed with colonel Hamilton's statement. Whatsoever occasioned this dismal double homicide, it is certain that with it ended the last rational hopes of the Stuarts; for if queen Anne ever meant to aid her brother, it was certainly to have been done by the means of the duke of Hamilton: she was stupefied, not only with terror at his murder, but with grief for his loss, for he was indeed her last friend. The duke of Hamilton preceded his royal kinswoman to the grave only a few months; the very report that spread on all sides, that the whigs had suborned Macartney, first to urge Mohun to challenge him, and then to stab him in the midst of the fray,¹ was

¹ Macartney did not surrender to his trial until George I. was on the throne: he was acquitted, to the infinite rage of the adverse party. See, for a more de-

sufficient to have intimidated a woman hastening to the tomb.

The queen was importuned by her ministry to nominate Dr. Swift to the see of Hereford,¹ the object of his ardent ambition. The queen, unacquainted with the literature of her own age, or of any other, only knew Swift as a partisan of high church, and as the deputy whom her clergy of the church establishment of Ireland regarded sufficiently to send up to her throne to crave her extension of the bounty of first-fruits,—a favor which Anne had just graciously granted, accompanied by some complacent notice of the deputy of her Irish church. The duchess of Somerset, finding the disposition of her royal mistress's mind, provided herself with an influential ally, being Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York,—a very favorite prelate with Anne, who had preached by her express desire the sermon at her coronation.² At the moment when the queen consulted the archbishop as to nominating Dr. Swift to the see of Hereford, he startled her with the following pithy question:—"Ought not your sacred majesty to be first certain whether Dr. Swift is a Christian, before he becomes a bishop?" The queen, in consternation, demanded his reasons for doubting the Christianity of her minister's nominee to the see of Hereford. The archbishop, in support of his assertion, had armed himself with the book that founded Swift's fame as a wit and great literary power; and good queen Anne, to her infinite horror and astonishment, was first introduced to the polemic romance called the *Tale of a Tub*.

tailed narrative, Lockhart of Carnwath's Papers, vol. i. pp. 401-407. It is an interesting fact, that Charles Hamilton, commonly called count Arran, the son of the duke by the injured lady Barbara Fitzroy, hearing that Macartney, his father's murderer, had fled to Antwerp, hastened there and challenged him, but the challenge was not accepted.—Douglas's Peerage.

¹ Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Swift*, collated with various passages in Swift's *Political Poems and Tracts*. The period when this remarkable scene took place in queen Anne's closet, which occasioned the disappointment of his hopes of an English bishopric, is clearly marked in Swift's *Journal to Stella*. Although he did not detail it to her, he says, January 20, 1712-13:—"I believe Pratt" (the late tutor of the duke of Gloucester) "will drive at these bishoprics. Our English bishopric of Hereford is not yet disposed of."

² Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

The false axiom adopted by the deists and atheists of that age, that "ridicule is the test of truth," seems to have inspired the author or authors of this controversial tale. It levels its satire at every denomination of Christianity, and stands at the head of the evil and perverse class of controversial novels, by which polemics of every creed have endeavored to persecute their rival sects since the use of fire and fagots, the quartering-block, and polemic-preaching have been renounced and abhorred by Christians in general. While queen Anne stood aghast at the profanity which a glance at the lucubrations of the divine she was about to nominate her bishop must have displayed to her, her mistress of the robes advanced on the other side, and throwing herself at her feet, and showing the Windsor Prophecy, implored, with tears, "that her royal mistress would not prefer to the sacred office of a bishop of souls a man capable of disseminating such false witness against an innocent lady." Poor queen Anne, after perusing this string of slanderous puns, addressed to herself, was scandalized and ashamed of the deeds of the wolf in sheep's clothing she was about to appoint as a shepherd in the fold of her church. Her majesty firmly withheld her royal sanction from the nominee of her ministry to the see of Hereford. As the whigs were not then in power, the head of the church of England *this time* was not coerced into the relinquishment of that legal right, for which she stood responsible to her church, to her people, and to her God.

There stood by one, silently noting this curious scene, who had, with more good sense than history has given her credit for, exactly foretold to the reckless wit what would befall if, in the vanity of literary power, he made public his attack on the "great lady," as the duchess of Somerset was called at the court of queen Anne; for the queen never forgot the gratitude she owed to the friendship of the duchess of Somerset, when she fearlessly espoused her cause against the cruelty of her sister, queen Mary.¹ Lady Masham described all she had seen and heard at this re-

¹ See vol. vii.; Life of Queen Mary II.

markable conference to her friend, Dr. Swift. The truth of the manner of his disappointment¹ was forthwith authenticated by his subsequent angry lines, in which he calls the archbishop "a crazy prelate," and Anne "a royal prude;" and, limiting his rage to these slight reproaches on church and queen, he flew with the whole fury of his wrath at the unfortunate duchess, and made matters against her appear far more in earnest than in his Windsor Prophecy:—

"Now angry Somerset her vengeance vows
On Swift's reproaches for her murdered spouse;
From her red locks her mouth with venom fills,
And thence into the royal ear instils.
The queen, incensed, his services forgot,
Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot.²
Now through the realm a proclamation spread,
To fix a price on his devoted head;
While, innocent, he scorns ignoble flight,
His watchful friends preserve him by a sleight."

"His watchful friends" must have considered him almost as troublesome as the spirit evoked by Michael Scott, who perpetually did embarrassing mischief after he had executed, with marvellous celerity, the tasks for which he had been conjured up. Michael Scott set his over-industrious elf to twist ropes out of sand, and the Oxford ministry made Dr. Swift dean of St. Patrick's, which banished him to Ireland, where he expended his mighty energies in grappling with the amplitude of wrong he found there on every side. He says—but the accuser of the duchess of Somerset ought not to be believed on his word without corroborating evidence—that the archbishop of York sent to entreat his pardon for having prejudiced the queen against him.

"York is from Lambeth³ sent, to show the queen
A dangerous treatise writ against the Spleen,⁴

¹ Lord Orrery's *Life of Swift*, Somerville's *Reign of Anne*, Scott's *Life of Swift*, and every history of the times.

² The duke of Argyle. The proclamation was against another lampoon or libel, called "*The Public Spirit of the Whigs.*"

³ From Dr. Tension, who then held the see of Canterbury.

⁴ Tale of a Tub.

Which, by the style, the manner, and the drift,
 'Tis thought could be the work of none but Swift.
 Poor York!¹ the harmless tool of others' hate,
 He sues for pardon, and repents too late."

The influence of the duchess of Somerset with the queen, it plainly appears by this incident, was all-powerful; she was considered by her majesty as a counterpoise to the tory party in power. Anne was often inspired (it is supposed) by the duchess with apprehensions lest she should one day see her brother walk into the council-room, and suddenly behold her regal homage transferred by her ministers to him before her face. St. John, who was in the Jacobite interest, was particularly anxious to disencumber the household of such an impediment to their operations as the duchess of Somerset. As for the duke, it will be remembered he personally defied the queen at council, by calling Harley, the minister of her choice, "a fellow" to her face. There had been no particular difficulty in dislodging him, but it was his duchess they dreaded; "for," said the tory ministry, "she is insinuating, and a woman of intrigue, and will do what harm she can to secretary St. John." The queen constantly replied, "If it were so that I cannot have what servants I like, I do not see how my condition is mended,"—since the fall of the family junta, her majesty meant. The duke of Somerset, it is said by Swift, intended to withdraw his duchess from court, out of spite for his own dismissal; but the queen prevailed on her to remain in office, by writing to her a letter of entreaty for that purpose, making her compliance a personal favor, which letter the duke of Somerset very frequently showed to his friends.

The queen's long-cherished but oft-deferred hopes of peace were about to be realized with the opening of the year 1713. The tears that had often streamed from her eyes over the appalling lists of slain and wounded in the mere glory battles of Blenheim and Ramilies were at last

¹ Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York. Sir Walter Scott and lord Orrery assert the same; but as the objectionable passages in Swift's works remained *in statu quo*, why should the archbishop of York repent showing them to the queen?

to fall no more. For many years Anne had been the only person connected with the government of her country who was steadily desirous of peace; she was not, however, destined long to reign over England when her great object was attained. The fierce contests which had attended the expulsion of the junta that had identified war with their interests shook her sands of life rudely, and all but those who saw her daily knew well that the time of Anne Stuart could not be long. Infirmary had frequently assailed her at the early age of thirty. It has been noted how she was carried from one place to another as a cripple; but she occasionally recovered the use of her feet and limbs, with strength sufficient to permit her to follow the stag in her long hunting-drives, which she continued till the autumn of 1712. All violent exercise was, perforce, renounced in the succeeding year; the queen was not only rendered inert with gout, but that disorder was not disposed to limit its attacks to her limbs; on every change of weather, or at the recurrence of mental agitation to the royal patient, it made formidable incursions on the vitals.

The queen appointed the duke of Shrewsbury her ambassador extraordinary to complete the treaty of peace at Paris. When there, the Parisians were highly amused by the Norman motto of the Talbots,—*Prest d'accomplir*, which, being emblazoned on his coaches, they chose to consider was an allusion to his pacific mission,¹ and that he meant to accomplish hastily a treaty which had lingered for two years. When the peace was actually signed by the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, the French ambassador, the due d'Aumont, arrived in London, and had his first audience of queen Anne. Her majesty apologized to him for being unable to rise to return his salutation, but begged him to be covered, as he stood with his hat in his hand. According to the custom of ambassadors, he should have put it on as soon as she had acknowledged his first address. The courteous envoy refused to avail himself of his privilege, observing, "that the king his master would not himself have worn his hat in the presence of so great a queen, and

¹ *Biographia Britannica.*

therefore *he* could not.”¹ He remained uncovered during the whole of the audience. “I know not,” said queen Mary Beatrice,² when relating this incident to the abbess of Chaillot, “how this will be taken by the other ambassadors, who are always jealous of their masters’ dignities, or whether this compliment may not be hereafter cited as a precedent for depriving the representatives of foreign kings of the privilege of putting on their hats. It must, however, be regarded as a mark of the politeness of the king your master, who is the most courteous man in the world, and has always paid me the compliment of remaining uncovered in my presence, although I have often entreated him not to use such ceremonies with us.” The duc d’Aumont addressed the most flattering language to queen Anne in his speeches, telling her “that her reign was as glorious as that of queen Elizabeth, and he hoped it would be as long.” His excellency did not confine his civilities to bows and compliments, for he presented her with the nine beautiful gray Flemish horses with which he had made his public entrance into London. Louis XIV. likewise sent, as presents for queen Anne, six splendid dresses and two thousand five hundred bottles of champagne, directly Bolingbroke signed the preliminaries of peace. A French historian of the present day,³ more remarkable for headlong calumny on royalty than for accurate deduction, considers these articles in the light of bribes irresistible to the queen of Great Britain: they were not so efficacious as he supposes, for Anne always manifested utter indifference to fine dress, and never drank French wine, which was considered mortally inimical to a patient subject to gout in the stomach.

Some anxiety prevailed as to the person, among the clever men and wits surrounding the lord treasurer (Harley earl of Oxford), who was to compose the speech with which their queen was to open her parliament. The difference between such announcements and the personality that

¹ Diary of the Nun of Chaillot, in the hôtel de Soubise, Paris; MSS.

² Inedited MSS. in the archives of France.

³ Capefigue.

the Plantagenet, the Tudor, and even the Stuart monarchs threw into their speeches, is not a little remarkable. Those of queen Elizabeth were no matters for men to jest withal, when their glasses went round, according to the following instance:—"After dinner, lord treasurer was talking to the lords about the speech that the queen must make when parliament meets. He asked me, seriously," continues Dr. Swift,¹ "'How I would make it?' I turned it to a jest. And, because they had been speaking of the recent event of the duchess of Marlborough going to Flanders after the duke, I said the queen's speech should begin thus:—'My lords and gentlemen, in order to my own quiet, and that of my good subjects, I have thought fit to send abroad the duchess of Marlborough after her duke.'" The queen, however, could pronounce none of their speeches, whether compounded for her in joke or earnest; her majesty was seriously ill, and the parliament in consequence prorogued. She was sufficiently recovered to receive her company when her birthday arrived. "I never," resumes Swift, "saw the birthday celebrated with so much bustle and fine clothes. Pray God keep the queen! She was very ill about ten days ago, and had the gout in her stomach."² A few days after he says, "There were more whigs than Tories to-day at court. I believe they see the peace must be made, and come to look after the queen; she is still lame with gout."³ Her physicians had succeeded in driving the disorder from the vitals to the extremities. The queen had made a struggle with her failing health to appear to her people on her birthday, which was kept as a national holiday, with enthusiasm that almost amounted to transport. Long after this well-beloved English queen had passed away, a rhyme was repeated by the populace, nearly throughout the last century, when every February 6th came round:—

"Good queen Anne's birthday,
All bells ringing gay."

¹ Journal to Stella; Scott's Swift, vol. iii. p. 98.

² Ibid., p. 110.

³ Ibid., p. 116.

Relapses took place of her dangerous malady after the queen had held her birthday court. She was seldom able to attend divine service at St. James's chapel, and when she did, was carried in a low open chair. It was observed that she had "an ugly cough."¹ A German lady belonging to the court of queen Anne, having taken the privilege of her Protestant country, which permits knitting in sermon-time at church, greatly scandalized Steele, who, in one of his papers in the *Guardian*, reprobates such proceedings at St. James's chapel during divine service, "because the irreverent knitter was then in the immediate presence of God and her majesty, who were both affronted together." The health of her majesty mended slowly; she gave out that she meant to be carried in a chair to open her parliament when it met. March ran through, April came, and yet the long-delayed royal speech had not been spoken,—the continuation of alarming symptoms delayed it. The gout vibrated fearfully through the queen's frame, flying from her feet to her stomach. At last, being carried in an open chair, on the 9th of April, to the house of lords, her majesty pronounced her speech with her usual harmony of utterance; yet it was noted that her voice was weaker than usual. Vast crowds blocked every avenue to the house of lords, for her speech announced peace,² after eleven years' warfare of unparalleled bloodshed; indeed the war had continued since 1688, with very short cessation. England had not been engaged in a continental war of any such duration or consequence since the days of Henry VI. The treaty of Utrecht had actually been signed by the plenipotentiaries on the preceding 31st of March, 1713.

The difficult question which had at first presented itself still perplexed the high contracting powers; this was, what was to be done with queen Anne's unfortunate brother, the chevalier de St. George? The recognition of the queen's title by Louis XIV. implied the necessity of the young prince's retreat to some other friendly dominions. There exists an

¹ Journal to Stella; Scott's Swift, vol. iii. s. 116.

² The speech is in Somerville, vol. ii. p. 510. It is not quoted, because it merely belongs to the political history of Anne's reign.

autograph letter of Anne, written in stiff but grammatical French, in the collections of the king of France, supposed to refer to this subject.¹ The letter has seemed by others to refer merely to the restoration of her next nearest relative, the duke of Savoy, to some part of his dominions, of which he had been deprived during the war. Probably this ambiguity had been carefully concerted by Prior and Bolingbroke.

“MONSIEUR MON FRERE :—

“I have received, with sincere pleasure, the agreeable letter that the sieur Prior brought me on your part. As your consummate prudence has taken the most proper resolution for fixing the terms of the peace, you may be persuaded, on my side, I shall lose not a moment to accelerate its conclusion. I assure you, the manner in which you remind me to be incessantly employed in re-establishing the public tranquillity is not lost upon me; by the orders I have given to my ministers at Utrecht, I have done all that is possible in the present juncture in favor of a prince,² whose interests are sustained by your generosity. I doubt not that he will be fully convinced of this himself, and that all the world will agree in the same. I repeat yet, monsieur my brother, that the consideration of your friendship will be a motive very effective to engage me for the future in his interests, and in those of his family, according to the occasions which may present themselves in future.

“As to the rest, I have sent Prior to Versailles, who will continue to hold the course of conduct most agreeable to you, and will do nought but execute to the letter the orders with which I have charged them. And among all the proofs of his duty and his zeal for my service, I have charged him very particularly to take all occasions possible to repeat the very perfect esteem and consideration which I have for you, and the ardent desire I have to live with you in sincere and perfect amity. I pray God to send you long years of health and prosperity, and to hold you always in his holy care.

“I am, monsieur my brother, your good sister,

“ANNE, R.”

Queen Anne offered the order of the Garter to Louis XIV. as soon as the peace of Utrecht³ was concluded; the king declined accepting it, lest queen Mary Beatrice should be

¹ Collections, Bib. du Roi.

² As the duke of Savoy had acted a double part in the war, and had sometimes fought against Louis XIV., it was unlikely the king would recommend him to Anne thus mysteriously. The duke of Savoy, by descent from her aunt, Henrietta duchess of Orleans, was the next in blood to herself to the throne.

³ Perhaps the circumstance that Handel wrote his magnificent Jubilate in order to celebrate the ratification of the peace of Utrecht is, to modern society, the most interesting fact connected with it. See the list of the works of that great composer.

offended.¹ He had already received the order from Anne's father or uncle.

The possession of Gibraltar, a fragment reft from the train of Spain in the long contest of her succession war, is the only remnant of the costly conquests of the reign of Anne retained by Great Britain at the present day. It is worthy of remark, that this possession was no trophy of the specious conquests of Marlborough; for his duchess went almost insane with pride and anger, and led the poor queen a doleful life for some months, because the houses of parliament voted thanks to sir George Rooke for taking Gibraltar, on the same day on which they thanked the duke of Marlborough for Blenheim. The rock has been retained, at whatsoever cost, on account of the protection it afforded to English trade in the Mediterranean, being much better situated for that purpose than Tangier, for the retention of which a struggle was made in the preceding century. Louis XIV. yielded to Anne the possession of Newfoundland; but that isle was the lawful property of her ancestors, Henry VII. having given the magnificent sum of 10*l.* "to the man that discovered the isle."²

Continental conquest was an absurd and guilty dream, which still infatuated the public, and had done so for three hundred years. It was considered extremely convenient to hold a port on an opposite coast, where an invading army might disembark, to carry fire and sword through a neighboring land: Calais was held upwards of two centuries for this purpose. It has been found that one-third of the English revenue was disbursed to maintain it, which money circulated over the continent of France, and did not again return into England. Moreover, every sedition connected with the civil wars of York and Lancaster that produced insurrection in England was concocted at Calais. The English were displeased because the ministry of queen Anne did not insist, at the peace of Utrecht, on the restoration of Dunkirk, a coast town, which occupied more atten-

¹ Quoted by Somerville from Duclos, tom. i. p. 63.

² Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VII. "The man" was his naval discoverer, Cabot.

tion than it was worth in the history of the seventeenth century. The statesmen who coveted the unlawful possession of such towns as Calais and Dunkirk had yet to learn the mighty statistical truth conveyed in the noble words of Campbell:—

“Britannia needs no bastions, no towers along the steep,
Her march is o’er the mountain waves, her home is on the deep.”

Surely it was far wiser to maintain an irresistible navy¹ to sweep pirates from the face of the British seas, even if it cost a third of the revenue; for the floating fortresses brought back the capital spent on them, which Calais or Dunkirk never could. Henry VIII. nearly rendered his country bankrupt by conquering and adding to the English territory Boulogne, and two or three other sinks to national wealth and prosperity; they were given up in a few years, with the humiliating conviction that such gains proved in the end pretty considerable losses. Conquerors learn these lessons, but learn them too late.

It has been previously shown that the statue of queen Anne in St. Paul’s church-yard, little as it is heeded in the present day, was chosen by her political poets to perform the same office as the Pasquin and Marforio statues at Rome. Some persons, excited into rage at the pasquinades on Anne’s statue, broke the sceptre and defaced the ornaments as soon as peace was proclaimed. The following verses, acknowledged by the whig doctor, sir Samuel Garth,² unlike his former libellous epigrams on Anne, possess some degree of reproachful elegance on the subject of the peace of Utrecht:—

“Near the vast bulk of that stupendous frame,
Known by the Gentiles’ great apostle’s name,

¹ Mr. P. Cunningham has edited the accounts of the uses to which the purchase-money of Dunkirk was put; a piece of historical information which will singularly inconvenience the historians who take Burnet as an authority.

² Dr. sir Samuel Garth, after spending his life in political hootings, not only at *popery*, but at the reformed Catholic church of England (which was the true object of the attacks of his party), became a Roman Catholic in the decline of life, and died in that religion, if we may believe the testimony of his friend Pope.—See Bio. Brit.

With grace divine great Anna's seen to rise,
 An awful form, that glads a nation's eyes.
 Beneath her feet four mighty realms appear,
 And with due reverence pay their homage there;
 Britain and Ireland seem to owe her grace,
 And e'en wild India wears a smiling face.

"But France¹ alone with downcast eyes is seen
 The sad attendant of so good a queen.
 Ungrateful country! to forget so soon
 All that great Anna for thy sake has done;
 When, sworn the kind defender of thy cause,
 Spite of her dear religion, spite of laws,
 For thee she sheathed the terrors of her sword,
 For thee she broke her general² and her word,
 For thee her mind in doubtful terms she told,
 And learned to speak like oracles of old
 For thee—for thee alone! What could she more?
 She lost the honor that her arms had won
 (Such Cæsar never knew, nor Philip's son),
 Resigned the glories of a ten years' reign,
 And such as none but Marlborough's arm could gain;
 For thee in annals she's content to shine,
 Like any other of the Stuart line."

Scarcely; for, unlike her ancestors, queen Anne founded no colonies, while the corruptions attendant on her peculating government laid the foundation for the alienation of the most noble of their colonial states. Her navy was disastrously decayed, instead of advancing with the impetus her father's labors had given it. Many other sources of national happiness were grievously impaired. The education of the poor was utterly neglected: perhaps one of the most extraordinary features of the age was, that after the two revolutions of the seventeenth century, especially that of 1688, numerous existing endowments for the instruction of the lower classes were seized upon by the middle classes, whilst those devoted to educate clergymen from the children of the people were appropriated by the aristocracy of wealth to the education of their sons. Queen Anne's

¹ Queen Anne retained the title of France,—an absurd fiction of national pride, to which may be attributed the excess of national malice which for some centuries subsisted between England and France. A statue representing France may be seen among the group of queen Anne's subject realms.

² The duke of Marlborough.

ancestors likewise “shone” without a national debt.¹ To do Anne justice, this order of affairs agonized her very soul, and induced her strenuous efforts for the peace which so highly incensed the revolutionary party. The queen about the same period addressed a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, requesting him to rectify the abuses of charity-schools;² her appeal was unavailing, yet it may be recorded to her honor that she made it.

If the true history of the wars of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, on pretence of sustaining the balance of power, could have been read aright by the people of Great Britain, France, and Spain, it would be soon found that the homely proverb of “mind first your own business” is as wholesome a maxim for nations as for families. That Great Britain had not minded her own business during the Orange and Marlborough wars could be told by many a woful token,—especially by the misery, ignorance, and consequent wickedness of the poor; by the dreadful state of the prisons from the atrocity of the jailers, who performed the office of evil spirits,—first tempting, and then torturing the poor wretches consigned to them. The national depravity, which awoke the snarling muse of many a satirist, seems partly to have arisen from the misapplied eloquence of the preachers, who wasted the time, which ought to have been devoted to better purposes, in sectarian railings, and their flocks went away in an ungodly state of satisfaction at hearing the sins of their neighbors analyzed instead of their own, or ready to despise all religion and its professors. Domestic warfare was actively pursued against all who had anything to lose, on every road and avenue leading to the metropolis, by the banditti called highwaymen and footpads,—the highway-

¹ That is, of their own contracting. James I. found a national debt of 500,000*l.* on the decease of queen Elizabeth, which had chiefly descended to her as incurred by the foolish wars of Henry VIII. and the profligate robberies of Edward VI.’s regents. James I. paid 50,000*l.* of this debt due to the city of London.—See Gough’s Chronicle. The unfortunate Charles I. inherited 450,000*l.* of these Tudor liabilities; and as it was no more, James I. had paid *part of Elizabeth’s debt*, and contracted *none*.

² Toone’s Chronology.

men being the cavalry of these marauding forces, the foot-pads the infantry; the first belonging to the profligate of the middle classes, and even of the upper classes, the last to the desperate from among the poor; whilst the police, such as it was, organized and regulated the movements of "the thieves against the true men." Ghastly avenues, not only of one triple tree, but of rows of them, each garnished with evil fruit, appalled the traveller at the approaches to the principal streets of the capital of Great Britain. Not long after the reign of Anne, a great reward was offered by government to discover the delinquents who had audaciously cut down *all* the gibbets in the Edgware road, and laid them, with their garniture of human relics, low in the dust.¹ Let the frequenters of that busy market-street for the new northwestern suburb meditate on the facts implied by the few words,—*all* the gibbets in the Edgware road!

The queen herself had had practical experience of the audacity of the thievish portion of her subjects. She had, when princess, been robbed on the highway, after her sister took away her guards; she had been plundered by burglars of her silver cistern from Berkeley house; when queen, her London thieves had given her an early specimen of their ability in their vocation, by walking off with her coronation-plate. If perpetual executions could have induced her people to be honest, there were hecatombs slaughtered every "hanging day," which regularly occurred at the end of six weeks, when the queen had to sign death-warrants sufficient to have unsettled the reason of most women. There is no regular historical record giving queen Anne credit for the feelings she really testified on these frightful occasions, nor of her incessant remonstrances when pressed to sign death-warrants for desertion from the army or navy; yet the letters she wrote on such occasions rise up in evidence in her behalf as a truly humane sovereign. These little billets, addressed in an evidently unpremeditated style to her secretary, give some insight of the mind of Anne the *queen*.

¹ Maitland's London.

QUEEN ANNE TO SIR CHARLES HEDGES.¹

"Tuesday evening.

"The enclosed petitions *weare* given mee as I came from St. James's. One is, I believe, from the man you gave me an account of yesterday; the other having a wife and six children, makes me think it a case of compassion. However, I desire you would inform yourself about it as soon as you can *possible*, and if you find it soe, take care his life may be spared.

"I am, your very affectionate freind,

"ANNE, R."

"Wednesday night.

"I have nothing to say to the execution that is to be on Friday, and am very glad the lords have respited Way; for though the law does not allow that benefit *more than once*, it would be a barbarous thing to hang a woman when she is with child.

"I am, your affectionate freind,

"ANNE, R."²

"Wednesday morning.

"I have been so pressed again this morning, by the woman that gave me the enclosed petition, to respite the execution of Jeffries, that I cannot help *writting* this, to desire you to order a reprieve till Friday, that there may be time to inquire into what this woman says.

"I am, your very affectionate freind,

"ANNE, R."³

It appears that ameliorating the condition of those sentenced to death was one of Anne's favorite private charities, and for this purpose her agents were sent anonymously from her palace. But what can the humanity of a limited sovereign effect against the cruelty and neglect of a representative government, corrupt as that which misruled Great Britain in her era?

Although the queen had been prevented from making Swift a bishop, she offered no opposition to giving him the deanery of St. Patrick, a preferment equally ineligible with that of the bishopric of Hereford for a man whose Christianity was doubted. The queen's proceedings in this matter were noted by the clerical candidate, in his journal, April 10, 1712:—"Lord Bolingbroke made me dine with him. He told me the queen would determine something

¹ From the Old Monthly Magazine, anno 1803, part ii. p. 397, endorsed—"Letters from queen Anne to sir Charles Hedges; copied from the originals lately in the possession of James Montague, Esq., and never before published."

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

for me to-night, Windsor or St. Patrick." A few days afterwards he says, "The duke of Ormonde has been to-day with the queen, and she was content that Dr. Sterne [dean of St. Patrick] should be bishop of Dromore, and I dean of St. Patrick; then came lord treasurer, and said 'he would not be satisfied without I was prebendary of Windsor.'" The queen opposed this arrangement. It may be supposed that she did not wish the author of the Windsor Prophecy to be quite so near her and her mistress of the robes, when she was enjoying the summer recess at her royal castle. The final settlement of this remarkable presentation took place before the end of April, 1713. The whole transaction shows the queen in the full exercise of her functions as head of the church. "I was," says Swift, "this noon at lady Masham's, who was just come from Kensington, where the queen was. She said much to me of what she had talked to the queen about me. The poor lady [Masham] fell a shedding tears openly; she could not bear to think of my having St. Patrick and leaving England. You know that deanery is in the duke of Ormonde's gift; but this is concerted between the queen, lord treasurer, and the duke of Ormonde, to make way for me. April 23d. This night the queen has signed all the warrants, and the duke of Ormonde is to send over the order for making me dean of St. Patrick."¹

Many causes of jealousy, in the course of the year 1713, arose, and occasioned irritation in the queen's mind against her brother. Her remorse concerning him only took place by fits and starts. It was the business of her life to guard those feelings carefully in her own bosom, or only to discuss them, in the restless solitude of her nights, with lady Masham, who slept on the ground on a mattress near her majesty's bed. Her demeanor by day was very different. If ever then she mentioned the chevalier, it was much in

¹ Swift's Journal. Swift soon after left England to take possession of his deanery. It seems the duke of Ormonde was then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. In that era the lords-lieutenant often left their charge, and hastened on any political crisis to London, leaving the vice-royalty *in commission*. Such was then the case.—Toone's Chronology : Anne.

the style which her uncle Clarendon recorded with such indignation, when she joined with her women in mockery of her unfortunate father. It is true, such phase of conduct did not last long in her latter days, and after-circumstances proved that she only tampered with her feelings and conscience; yet the following was the result of the close inquiry of a contemporary, who professed to be anxiously curious on the subject. "Whoever knew anything of the queen's disposition must believe she had no inclination at all in favor of the Pretender. She was highly and publicly displeased with my lord Bolingbroke, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at the opera, when his lordship was despatched to France upon difficulties in the way of the peace. Her majesty said [probably at council], 'that he ought immediately to have withdrawn, on the appearance of the other at the opera;' wherein, to speak with freedom," adds Swift,¹ "her majesty's judgment was not a little mistaken. . . . At her toilet," he pursues, "among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, the queen would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature as made it manifest how little she deserved reproaches of *too* much partiality to him. Indeed, she not unfrequently expressed contempt for the person and concerns of the chevalier, her brother."² The duchess of Somerset was the person whom the queen sought to propitiate or please by such expressions.

Her majesty, at the period of the peace, talked much of queen Elizabeth. She had adopted her motto, the far-famed *semper eadem*, which she rather paraded at this particular time. A lady, wishing to know what those Latin words were in English, asked Swift, who replied, "*semper eadem* meant in queen Anne's case, *worse and worse*." It is possible that the political dean meant in health, for he gives ominous hints concerning her majesty's constitution at this period; "the queen growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout and other disorders increasing on her, so that whosoever was about the court for the two

¹ Inquiry into the Behavior of the Queen's late Ministry.—Scott's Swift.

² Ibid.

last years of her reign might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to prophecy." She left off all exercise whatsoever, insomuch that, like Henry VIII., during her stay at Windsor castle in the decline of the year 1713, she was, to spare herself the trouble of ascending and descending stairs, lowered from the ceiling of one room into another, by the means of a chair fitted up with pulleys and tackling. It is probable that the apparatus and contrivances which had been used for the queen's corpulent predecessor still remained at Windsor castle.

So early in 1713 as July¹ a report of queen Anne's death had been prevalent in Paris. When it was named by the nuns of Chaillot to Mary Beatrice, the widow of James II., she said, "it was untrue, and that the princess of Denmark [as she called her royal step-daughter] had not been more seriously indisposed than usual, although it was certain that she had grown so enormously fat that she had not been able to walk a step since the preceding November; and that she had heard that Anne was obliged to be lifted into her coach by a machine, which had been constructed for that purpose." Yet, in the August and September of the same year, she is mentioned by her friend, the duke of Ormonde,² as occupied in reviewing troops. Previously, no notices occurred of the queen taking a personal part in any military parade. Such had been the department of her husband, prince George; but after his death, she occasionally reviewed troops, and that at a period of her life when she was oppressed with obesity and infirmity. The queen reviewed her guards August 1, 1713; what vehicle or station she took for this purpose the duke of Ormonde does not say. One of her secretaries, Bromley, wrote a flattering account of her health about a month afterwards, declaring that "the queen was on her legs again, every day in her chaise, and sometimes hunts;" but this information must have been purposely given to mislead the wavering poli-

¹ Such is the date in the Chaillot manuscript; but it refers to the serious illness of queen Anne at Windsor, in the close of the same year.

² Duke of Ormonde to sir Thomas Hanmer, p. 147; Hanmer Correspondence.

tician sir Thomas Hanmer, as the sole hope of the Jacobites was the duration of Anne's life.

In the midst of alarms which were very general in England concerning the arrival of the Pretender at Bar-le-duc, the duke of Lorraine sent a courteous message to the queen by his envoy, the baron de Fortsner. He begged to know what her ideas were concerning his reception of the young chevalier St. George, as her wishes should be his guide in the whole transaction. The queen's declining health and meditations on the past had at that juncture caused her to experience one of her transitions of mind to warmth and kindness towards her hapless brother. Her reply was (November, 1713), "that the more kindness the court of Lorraine showed to the chevalier St. George, the more her Britannic majesty would consider herself beholden."¹ Although a very haughty public letter had been just sent in the queen's name (November 6, 1713), remonstrating with France that the duke of Lorraine should give protection to a young man disputing her Britannic majesty's title, and enclosing the addresses of parliament on the subject, only four days afterwards the soft, kind whispers of a private letter from St. John to Prior added, "This letter will be delivered to you by the baron de Fortsner, who has been twice at the court of our queen with the character of envoy from the duke of Lorraine, who is extremely well with our friends on this side of the water."² Her majesty actually, on the 23d of December, 1713, signed a warrant, addressed to Harley earl of Oxford, her lord treasurer, setting forth "that her late royal father had made Lawrence earl of Rochester, Sidney lord Godolphin, etc., trustees for a yearly annuity for the life of his royal consort, now Mary [Beatrice], queen-dowager." Of the vast arrear of which the unfortunate widow of James II. had been deprived, Anne directed an instalment to be paid to her by Prior; directions being added that certain sums of the annuity

¹ Lamberty, *Mémoires pour l'Histoire du Siècle*. He gives not the date, which we verify from the Torcy correspondence with Prior and Bolingbroke.

² Lamberty, *Histoire du Siècle*, tom. viii.; second edition, collated with *Parliamentary History of Queen Anne*, p. 106.

and arrear were to be paid quarterly "during the life of the said queen-dowager, and for so doing this shall be your warrant: given at our court, at Windsor, the 23d day of December, 1713, in the twelfth year of our reign."¹ Another sum, being a quarter's payment of her annuity, as asserted by the English ministers, was paid to Anne's unfortunate step-mother, but it never reached her hands.

Scarcely was the queen's assent given to the commencement of the payment of the dower of her step-mother, when she was stricken down with illness of the most threatening character. Some circumstances attended this attack which caused another change in her majesty's manner of speaking in regard to her brother. All those who knew her intimately dated an alteration in her feelings from this fit of illness, which occurred Christmas, 1713. The queen was, moreover, made only too well acquainted with the exultant manner in which the opposition meant to hail her demise, for her death was strongly reported, and some time elapsed before it could be credited in London that the queen was alive and likely to recover. Her enemies had plucked off their masks entirely, and they were perplexed how to fit them on again. Expressions of joy were frequent and loud among the whig party;² crowded meetings took place, with great hurrying of coaches and chairs to the earl of Wharton's house; messengers were despatched from Windsor with accounts of the queen's health to the lord treasurer, who was then in town. To check the reports of the queen's death, he sauntered about the whole of the day, and abstained from going to Windsor until his usual time. From his reply to the official report of Dr. Arbuthnot, the queen's domestic

¹ See vol. vi., *Life of Mary Beatrice*; likewise *History of the Parliament of Great Britain from the Death of Queen Anne*, etc., p. 157, which last mentions *two* instalments paid to Mary Beatrice, while the Chaillot documents allow only *one*. But these payments, although tardy and imperfect acts of honesty, caused Prior and the earl of Oxford to be tried for their lives in the succeeding reign. They pleaded, and successfully proved, that they obeyed the orders of queen Anne, and the parliamentary acts at the peace of Ryswick, never revoked.

² Scott's *Swift*, vol. v. p. 294: *Inquiry into Queen's Ministry*.

physician, may be gathered how near unto death was the sovereign at this juncture:—¹

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO DR. ARBUTHNOT.

"I return you very many thanks for the exact and particular account you were pleased to give me of her majesty's indisposition; it is of too great importance to all the world not to have a concern for it, and it is my duty to sacrifice everything I am or have to her service. I verily believe that the rigor and trembling you mention may be the effect of a sudden cold the queen took; for those shiverings are not unusual on the like occasions, and the east wind makes the cold much more affecting the nerves.

"I have sent my servant with one of your letters, and my chairman with another: neither of the doctors were at home. It is likely they may be vain enough to publish it. Though I trust in God the queen will be well before they come down, yet I think you nor I could have been justified unless they had been sent to. God, who has so often saved the queen and delivered the nation, will, I hope, restore the queen to perfect health, in which prayer none joins more fervently than your most faithful and most humble servant,

OXFORD.

"P. S.—There is a meeting appointed to-morrow of the lords, and should I go down it would cause great alarm; but I send this messenger belonging to the treasury, and desire you will despatch him quickly back. If there be any occasion, I can come after we return to-morrow."

Endorsed, in a more modern hand,—"*Dr. Arbuthnot.*"

When the cautious policy of the premier permitted him "to go down" to Windsor, he found the immediate danger of death had passed from her majesty; yet serious alarm sat on every countenance, and the account of the confusion and distraction that was round the queen was almost incredible. Lord-treasurer Oxford, when giving this detail to Swift, used these remarkable words:—"Whenever anything ails the queen, these people are scared out of their wits; and yet they are so thoughtless that, as soon as she is well, they act as if she were immortal."² His auditor

¹ We have been permitted, by the great courtesy of W. Baillie, Esq., of Cavendish square, to print, from his valuable collection of inedited autograph letters, this among others from Dr. Arbuthnot's papers in his possession. The reader will observe how entirely this letter agrees with the published letters and journals of Swift.

² From Swift's remarkable paper, called "An Inquiry into the Queen's Ministry," may be gathered that the tory ministers of queen Anne meant, by means of their influence on the public press, "to write the chevalier de St. George into the public favor again, as his family had been *written down*." Swift declares that such would have been a work of longer time than the life of Anne could allow. This admission displays the secret springs of the historical literature of the era of the Revolution.

remembered these words, and declared that he thought the prime minister might apply some share of the same blame to himself. The queen's friend or favorite, the duchess of Somerset, by command, received due information of the state of her majesty from Dr. Arbuthnot,¹ and thus expressed her feelings on the occasion:—

THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET TO DR. ARBUTHNOT.

“Petworth, nine o'clock Friday morning.

“It is with the greatest concern imaginable that I received your letter this morning, with an account of the queen's being ill, and if it were possible for me to reach Windsor this night, I would certainly do it; but as the roads are *now*,² and no relays of horses at Guildford, I am afraid I shall not be able to go any farther this day, but will set out from thence to-morrow morning very early; and I hope in God I shall find the queen free from any complaint, and in so good a way of recovery that she will very soon be restored to perfect health. I desire the favor of you to present my most humble duty to her, *and to assure her I will make all the haste I can to wait on her*; ³ for I shall not stay one moment longer here than till my coach is ready, for I am impatient to have the honor of attending on her majesty.

“I am, your humble servant,

“E. SOMERSET.”

“Dr. Arbuthnot.”

“I had so ill an opinion of the queen's health, that I was confident you had not a quarter of time for the work you had to do,” writes Swift, “having let slip the opportunity of cultivating those dispositions she had got after her sickness at Windsor.”⁴ What disposition the royal mind was in at this time can only be matter of surmise,—perhaps repentance for the past, and fruitless wishes for that

¹ Printed from the autograph letter in the collection of W. Baillie, Esq., Cavendish square, with a copy of which we have been favored.

² The letter is without date of month or year, but from this expression we refer it to the queen's violent illness at Christmas, 1713, as, at her alarming illness in the beginning of September, 1712, the roads must have been as good as they usually were; neither would they be complained of at the time of her fatal seizure at the end of July, 1714, which, withal, did not occur at Windsor, but Kensington.

³ From this passage it may be inferred that the queen had caused her mistress of the robes to be summoned when in danger of death, as if unwilling to be surrounded by those who were, like Arbuthnot and lady Masham, entirely in her brother's interest. After this illness another remarkable change occurred in the queen's feelings towards him,—a change which probably took place during her convalescence.

⁴ Swift's Correspondence; letter to Bolingbroke, vol. xvi. p. 187.

species of reparation which was not in her power. Nelson, the high-church writer, was certainly at this period personally acquainted with queen Anne, for his contemporaries affirm that he had frequent interviews with her majesty in her closet towards the close of her life. He was regarded with jealousy by the whigs, as one who advocated the cause of her brother's succession.¹ It was, moreover, observed that her majesty became, during her recovery, pensive and low-spirited, wept frequently, and spent four hours every day by herself in the retirement of her closet at Windsor, either in earnest prayer or in writing.² What the queen wrote has not come to light. Her majesty had returned from Windsor to Kensington by May 18th, and from thence went to St. James's to transact business. Swift notes, in his letters, "She can walk, thank God, and is well recovered." The queen's want of moderation in eating made her relapses very frequent; for instance, after being in danger with gout in the head or stomach on Friday, she would, on the Sunday afterwards, devour a whole fowl;³ and if this was the repast of a patient scarcely convalescent, it may be supposed that her usual meals were too ample for a female who took no exercise and performed no labor. A French authority declares that the queen's epicurism led her to hold regular councils with her cooks on affairs of the table; but devouring large quantities of food was this queen's propensity, rather than a dainty discrimination regarding its quality.

Queen Anne's perpetual vacillations, between her dread lest her brother should land in England and her terror lest George of Hanover, or his eldest son, should come to her court to claim place as her heir and successor, produced many inconsistent acts, which puzzle historians into silence, and wholly prevent her biographer from attributing to her any premeditated principle of action. Her intentions, like feathers on a stream, fled from side to side before every gale that blew. The angry parties into which her empire

¹ Life of Daniel Defoe, by Wilson, vol. iii.

² Roger Coke's Detection.

³ Tindal's Continuation.

was rent continued to threaten her with the advent of either one or other object of her alarm, as they became offended with her proceedings. Her majesty's apprehensions rose high enough, in the spring of 1714, to make an appeal to the honorable feelings of her kindred in Hanover. Notwithstanding every temptation from crowds of sycophants, who perfectly besieged the court of Hanover in hopes of being remembered when they came to their inheritance, those princes never attempted to encourage faction by approaching the shores of England. Much has been said of their intentions, but the plain fact of their absence until invited must outbalance many folios of mere words. The following is the remonstrance which the harassed queen of Great Britain, the day after her return from Windsor, addressed to her aged kinswoman:—

QUEEN ANNE TO THE PRINCESS SOPHIA (DOWAGER-ELECTRESS OF BRUNSWICK).

“St. James's, May 19, 1714.

“MADAME, SISTER, AUNT:—

“Since the right of succession to my kingdoms has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been disaffected persons who, by particular views of their own interest, have entered into measures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even whilst I am yet living. I never thought till now that this project would have gone so far as to have made the least impression on your mind; but (as I have lately perceived by public rumors, which are industriously spread, that your electoral highness is come into this sentiment) it is important, with respect to the succession of your family, that I should tell you such a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it some consequences that will be dangerous to the succession itself, which is not secure any other ways than as the prince who actually wears the crown maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here—such is our misfortune—a great many people that are seditiously disposed; so I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent that the least thing should be done that may disturb the repose of me or my subjects.

“Open yourself with the same freedom that I do to you, and propose whatever you think may contribute to the security of the succession. I will come into it with zeal, provided that it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am resolved to maintain.

“I am, with a great deal of affection, etc.

Superscribed—“To my Sister and Aunt, Electress-dowager of Brunswick and Lunenburg.”¹

¹ Printed for John Baker, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster row, anno 1714.

The grandson of the electress, afterwards George II., received from queen Anne, at the same time, this epistle:—

QUEEN ANNE TO GEORGE AUGUSTUS, DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.

“ Anno 1714.

“ COUSIN :—

“ An accident which has happened in my lord Paget’s family having hindered him from setting forward so soon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with respect to the design you have of coming into my kingdoms. As the opening of the matter ought to have been *just* to me, so I expected you would not have given ear to it without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendship I have for you and the electoral house to which you belong, and the true desire I have that it may succeed to my kingdoms; and this requires of me that I should tell you nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions and the right of succession in your line, and consequently more disagreeable to me, than such a proceeding at this juncture. I am, with a great deal of friendship,

“ Your very affectionate Cousin.”¹

Superscribed—“ To the Duke of Cambridge.”

The patronage queen Anne bestowed on Tom D’Urfey, the song-writer of her era, resembled that extended by the sister queens, Mary and Elizabeth, to their dramatic buffoons, Heywood and Tarleton. After her majesty’s three o’clock dinner, D’Urfey took his stand by the sideboard at the time of dessert, to repeat political gibes or doggerel ballads, prepared to flatter some of the well-known prejudices of his royal mistress. It is said that D’Urfey received a fee of fifty pounds for a stave which he compounded soon after queen Anne’s refusal to invite the elector of Hanover’s son, for the purpose of taking his place as duke of Cambridge in the house of peers. It is added that the electress Sophia greatly displeased and irritated queen Anne by a saying, which was repeated at the English court, “ that she cared not when she died, if on her tomb could be recorded that she was queen of Great Britain and Ireland.” Such report pointed the sting of the satirical doggerel so bountifully rewarded by queen Anne:—

¹ Printed for John Baker, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster Row, 1714.

"The crown's far too weighty
 For shoulders of eighty,
 She could not sustain such a trophy;
 Her hand, too, already
 Has grown so unsteady,
 She can't hold a sceptre,—
 So Providence kept her
 Away, poor old dowager Sophy!"

The audiences queen Anne granted to the facetious D'Urfey must have taken place in some intervals between the meditative and prayerful change of feelings which had taken place in the mind of her majesty during her convalescence in the spring, for the foregoing strain has no savor of edification in it.

Many vague reports of secret interviews between queen Anne and her disinherited brother float through the history of her times; they chiefly arise from the reminiscences of Horace Walpole, who had certainly the best means of knowing the truth if he chose to tell it,—a point which is extremely doubtful. He declares that the young prince came *incognito* to England, and was introduced to his sister in her closet, by Harley earl of Oxford and lady Masham, at the very time when the faithful commons were thanked by the queen, in one of her speeches, for putting a price on his head; but Oxford could not have been a party concerned, for he was no more sincere in his Jacobitism than Marlborough himself.¹ Lady Masham was a disinterested partisan, but neither herself nor her royal mistress had power enough either to effect an interview of such importance, or to keep it from the knowledge of persons interested in the exclusion of the exiled Stuarts. It is affirmed that queen Anne consulted bishop Lloyd, who had assumed the mantle of prophecy, as to what would be the consequence if she invited her brother and presented him to the privy council, as the letters she received from his partisans boldly pressed her to do.² "Madame," replied the bishop, "you would be in the Tower in one month, and dead in three." Another edition of this anecdote asserts that Anne

¹ Berwick's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 159.

² Macpherson's State-Papers, vol. ii.

cherished the idea of resigning her throne to her brother, but no one who has watched her through all the fluctuations of conduct and character will for one moment doubt that ambition and love of her own consequence were governing traits of her disposition to the last. The Anne of history, embellished with so many soft and kindly qualities, might have done so; but the Anne who wrote the scandalous series of letters to her sister was not likely to take any such step. Can we believe but that the presence of a brother she had so deeply and wilfully injured must have been a torture to her? The exclusion from the British throne was the slightest part of the wrongs of the young prince. That measure ought to have been majestically founded on the inconsistency of his religion with the royal functions, not meanly on the calumny regarding his birth; for if he were disposed to continue the sacrifice of earthly grandeur to his religious prejudices, why might he not have been permitted to enjoy, in his retirement, the harmless satisfaction of being a gentleman of unsullied pedigree? Although the slanders on the birth of the son of James II. assuredly originated in the plotting brain of the duchess of Marlborough, it is a curious fact that she never named the expatriated heir excepting by the title of the prince of Wales. Her private letters from Antwerp repeatedly mention him as such, when discussing her hopes and fears relative to the restoration of the house of Stuart, or the confirmation of the election of the house of Brunswick. "As soon as the emperor is forced into peace,"¹ she says, "the prince of Wales is to come into England; and 'tis said, in France, that queen Anne will consent to it. Perhaps she is not yet acquainted with *that* part of it; but, however, when things are prepared for it, there can be no great difficulty in that, nor no great matter *whether* the queen likes it or not."² A tolerably good proof is here that queen Anne had never seen her brother, or intended so to do if she could help it; for though the most lively hatred subsisted between her and her once loved favorite, yet the

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i.

² Duchess of Marlborough to Mrs. Clayton, April, 1714.—Coxe.

latter knew well every turn and feeling in the mind of her mistress, and doubts are here expressed as to whether the queen would like the restoration of her brother. "I never," writes the duchess, "was much concerned for the disappointment of the *honest people* [Jacobites] concerning the words in the proclamation if the prince of Wales landed. It appears to me that the great struggle the ministers made to have that *matter left to her majesty's own time*, and then the queen answering *that she did not think it necessary*, must needs help to convince men that whenever the prince does really land, whatever are the proclamations¹ on either side, those that conquer will do as they please."

About this time great dissensions arose between the queen and the earl of Oxford, which were clearly attributable to lady Masham, who had discovered that her cousin did not mean to aid in the restoration of the queen's brother. As the founder of the South-Sea fund,² which James Stuart

¹ There was a proclamation for the head of James at this period,—the spring of 1714.

² The difficulties of presenting a clear idea of what this fund really was are almost insurmountable, owing to the intentional mystifications of the Mammonite party who founded it. Indeed, its origin was too infamous to have any great light cast on it at that era. Notwithstanding the enormous taxation in the reigns of William and Mary and Anne, throughout their sanguinary wars, the wretched common soldiers and sailors *had never been paid*, excepting by tickets bearing *interest*. These tickets the poor creatures sold at *half price* to usurers (being the Jews, who had actively pursued their favorite occupation since Cromwell had invited them into England). Thus there was a floating debt due to the Jew usurers, in 1710, of ten millions, the price of the miserable sailors' limbs and lives, paid by Harley from a fictitious fund formed by the government; there were, moreover, twenty-five millions more due. The usurers were allowed their stock of tickets (on which was added the interest and compound interest), at 60*l.* for every 100*l.* of stock. The fund was proposed to be paid off by a monopoly of British trade to Peru and Mexico, always very enticing to English speculators. The golden trade of the Spanish Main was peculiarly liable to stock-jobbing puffery; hence the enormous fluctuations. Spain was, however, not then in her present helpless state, and the stock-jobbing public had bought the bear-skin of the cunning ministry before the bear was killed. The navy of England was in a state of hollow insufficiency, which may be guessed by the origin of this fund. The first ships sent to realize this South-Sea, or rather Spanish-Main trade, were taken by the Spaniards for want of convoys. Nevertheless, by the public press the South-Sea stock was puffed up higher and higher, even in the reign of Anne. The duke of Marlborough had by some means 100,000*l.* in it. All the cunning courtiers

would not guarantee, the premier was perforce his opponent.

behind the scenes sold in time, and were not hurt by the crash that took place in the reign of George I., in the disastrous years of 1720-21. The public ought especially to note that the monarchs of the house of Hanover, although they have borne the blame of this iniquity, were innocent of its original construction. The guilt belongs to the Mammonite party, who took advantage of the rapacity of William III. to encourage him in debt and taxation for their own advantage; likewise to the whig ministry of queen Anne. Smollett and Macpherson's *History of Great Britain* furnish the authorities for this note. Cunningham, the whig panegyrist of William III., an actual contemporary, is still more severe in his remarks regarding the navy tickets, and the disgraceful state of the navy; for which, see his *History of Great Britain*.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER XII.

Vacillation of queen Anne's mind and affections concerning her brother—She again sets a price on his head—Her extraordinary conduct at council—Appoints lord Marr one of her ministers—Queen's healthful appearance when she dissolves parliament—Her personal antipathy to lord Oxford—Her complaints of his disrespectful behavior—She dismisses him—Kept up till two in the morning at a stormy council—Is carried from it swooning—Her prognostication that the dissensions would be fatal to her—Sudden illness of the queen while looking at the clock—She is delirious—Raves of her brother—Deplorable state next morning—Her recovery doubted—Privy council consult on her state—Her death predicted by Dr. Mead—The queen recovers her senses—Names the duke of Shrewsbury prime-minister—Her agonies of mind afterwards—Cries on her brother's name incessantly—Gives some mysterious charge to the bishop of London—The black bag opened containing the act of succession—Tidings of the queen's state despatched to Hanover—She is prayed for at St. Paul's—Jacobite council held during the night of her death-agony—Queen Anne expires, August 1, 1714—Peaceful proclamation of George I.—Preparation of the royal chapel for the queen's burial—Conflicting statements on her character and conduct—Elegies—Malignant summary of her character by the duchess of Marlborough—Flattering summary of her character by the same pen—Slandered by Horace Walpole—Queen Anne's funeral—Interment of her father in 1813—Conclusion.

ONE day, in the middle of June, 1714, when the council met, the queen, without giving any one time to speak, said that she had resolved on a proclamation, which she caused to be read, and then went out, before her council could offer comment or advice; thus making it entirely her own act.¹ The proclamation was carried into effect, June 23d, setting a price of 5000*l.* "for the apprehension of the Pretender, dead or alive, if he were found in Great Britain or Ireland." Both Oxford and Bolingbroke professed utter ignorance of it, and intense astonishment, withal, at her majesty's man-

¹ Carte's Memorandum-Book, 1714.

ner of bringing it to pass; they declared it to be a measure that emanated entirely from herself. Even those who record the queen's conduct fancy that there was something mysterious in the whole, and that, in spite of all appearances, it was against her majesty's real inclinations. Very limited is the knowledge of human nature shown by those who argue thus; double-minded the queen had been from her youth upwards, and Divine Wisdom has pronounced that such persons "are unstable in all their ways." It was her punishment to feel the fierce conflicts of terror and remorse, which deprived her of all decision in her actions. The course that conscience dictated to her imperatively one day, was crossed by her fears the next. Thus did Anne wear out the short remnant of her existence in the convulsive throes of self-contradiction. At times, which were very fresh in the memories of those who saw her set a price on her brother's life, when any injurious measure had been debated against him in council, the queen had been known to burst into tears, and then the assembly broke up in the utmost confusion.¹

The queen had probably made a private compromise with the whigs, that if they did not insist on bringing the heir of Hanover to England, she would proscribe her brother. On the other side, it is said that, on a former occasion, she appeared horror-struck when the profligate earl of Wharton proposed to add to the mention of the reward for the apprehension of the Pretender the homicidal words, "whether he be dead or alive." These instances illustrate the state of pitiable indecision that agonized the mind of the declining queen. Let not the perpetual tissue of contradictions, which these pages must present regarding the conduct of queen Anne, raise doubts of the authenticity of the actions detailed. Such contradictions are the natural results of a will and conscience suffering internal war. The conscience of the queen, doubtless, was fully convicted of all her trespasses against her father, his wife, and her unoffending brother. On the other side, must not the same conscience have addressed to her awful whispers of such

¹ Tindal's Continuation, vol. x. p. 243.

truths as these? "Wretch! you have urged the religion of your country as the excuse for all these slanders, this deceit, and for the bloodshed that has been the result; yet will you, when your turn of personal aggrandizement is served, and your dying hand can grasp the sceptre no more, deliver it to a *Roman Catholic, who, being such, can have no will of his own in religious government?* Wherefore, then, was your father, the great colonizing, naval, and financial king, driven forth, scathed with your slanders respecting the birth of his boy? Why did you not suffer him to remain and leave the sceptre to his heir, unencumbered with millions of debt, and unstained with the blood of thousands of his subjects, who, instead of being slaughtered on the scaffolds of your sister, or in useless continental wars, would have extended his colonies, and cultivated commerce and the arts of peace? Let your country at least retain what she has bought at such cost,—namely, all the privileges of her established church which the Revolution has left her." Who can doubt that the meditations of queen Anne were according to this tenor? and who can blame her that she ultimately acted in obedience to them? Yet the natural yearnings of her heart forced her into many contradictory proceedings in favor of her brother, being occasionally swayed in his behalf by those officials who were immediately about her person, as Masham and Arbuthnot, his warm though humble friends.

Sophia, electress of Hanover, died on the birthday of the chevalier St. George, June 10, 1714. She died in displeasure with queen Anne. The ambitious words attributed to this princess are inconsistent, it must be owned, with the extreme moderation and justice of her character. Some of the friends of the electress¹ declare that she died a few minutes after reading queen Anne's angry letter, which is quoted as the death-blow of the electress; but that illustrious lady had experienced too many changes of capricious fortune in her youth to be slain with a few diplomatic words.

Scarcely had the Jacobite party recovered from the con-

¹ Macpherson's Stuart Papers.

sternation that the queen's proscription of her exiled brother had induced, when a new turn of her humor amazed all people. The earl of Marr, who had fought very bravely in the Marlborough continental wars, was presented to the queen on his marriage with lady Frances Pierrepont (sister to the famous lady Mary Wortley Montagu). The queen distinguished this noble very graciously, and he was soon on terms of very confidential intercourse with her majesty, and appointed one of her ministers of state. Lord Marr, it will be remembered, was afterwards the leader of the Jacobite insurrection of 1715. A particular circumstance proved that he and queen Anne discussed Jacobite politics in their conferences. The whigs had made a symbol to designate their party, similar to the white harts of Richard II., the swans of the son of Henry VI., or the red and white roses of York and Lancaster. The whig badge was a miniature brass *fusee*,¹ about two inches in length, which was worn at the waistcoat breast; but some were in gold, some in silver, according to the rank of the partisan. "A friend of mine being let into the secret, acquainted me thereof, and brought me three," says Lockhart,² "one of which was given to the queen by lord Marr." But her majesty seemed to wish to ascertain precisely whether the whig party would own and respond to this symbol; for this purpose Lockhart and Marr agreed upon a scheme, which was forthwith communicated to her majesty. Lockhart tied the little fusee, or fusil, with a ribbon to his button-hole, walked into the house of commons, and took his seat by sir Robert Pollock, a stanch west-country whig member. Presently Lockhart manœuvred the whig badge so that his fellow senator took a full view of it. Sir Robert Pollock was, although of different politics, Lockhart's near kinsman and personal friend; he eyed the party symbol with no little consternation, and his cousin took a mischievous pleasure in

¹ Probably a fusil, but in obsolete warfare there is something with the same name pertaining to the grenade.

² Lockhart Papers, vol. i. pp. 462, 463. Lockhart was member for Edinburgh, and, as such, sat in the united parliament at Westminster.

coquetting with this toy. When Pollock looked at it, he affected to conceal it; till at last the whig member asked him angrily, "What the de'il he meant? and whether he was in jest or earnest?" Lockhart pretended not to know what he was talking about. Pollock then asked, "If he was come over to them?"—"You have no reason to doubt," said the Jacobite member, "seeing I carry the mark of the beast."—"Well," replied sir Robert Pollock, "I don't know what to make of you; but either our secrets are discovered, or you're a convert." Lockhart answered, "That he had not hit it yet; he would leave him to guess which was the case." But afterwards, sir Robert Pollock never saw him without urging him to tell him "how he had got that toy? for he had reason to believe these badges would not have fallen into such hands."—"In discoursing with him," continues Lockhart, "at divers times on the subject, I found the account I had of its being designed as a mark of faction was very well grounded." He supposes that it was connected with some insurrectionary rising likely to be attended with extensive slaughter; and as he communicated this supposition to the declining queen, marking its connection with the nightly deeds of the furious Mohawk club, and that named, from its *reputable* components, "the Hellfire club," her vacillations were not likely to be settled into any decided course of action against a party whose intentions were of this ferocious nature. The former badge of the Orange party was a little pewter warming-pan, such as are occasionally sold at country fairs for the cost of a farthing.

While the whole country were dreading, or hoping, that the queen would take some decided step for the restoration of her brother (all the tories being then deemed Jacobites), the Hanoverian tories joined the whigs, and by majorities in the house of commons¹ proceeded to reiterate the queen's personal orders in council by setting a price on the head of James Stuart, talking, at the same time, of inviting the hereditary prince of Hanover over to England, as the first

¹ They acted in concert with the whigs, June 21, 1714, voting a reward of 5000*l.* for the apprehension of James Stuart, assuming to be James III.

peer of the blood-royal, to take his seat as duke of Cambridge. Exasperated at these proceedings, the real Jacobite party in the house of commons, which amounted to about a third, formed themselves into what was called, in the diplomatic language of the day, a *squadron volante*; and, as they could not command a majority, they came to a resolution to join with any party, so as to outvote the ministry and stop the wheels of government. This is not an uncommon manœuvre at the present day, and a dissolution of parliament is the usual remedy,—a measure that would, at the crisis of the queen's demise, have proved very advantageous for the Jacobites, because there would have been no responsible head of government, and party spirit, becoming terrific during the election of new members of parliament, would have flamed out into a civil war. The clue of the intrigues of this important epoch is furnished by the head of the Jacobite *squadron volante*, the then member for Edinburgh, Lockhart of Carnwath. This gentleman's historical narrative of the scenes in which he was a principal actor presents the only intelligible narrative we ever met with of this extraordinary juncture; he speaks in many instances with the vivacity natural to a party concerned.

"About ten days after the Jacobites had outvoted the ministry," says Lockhart of Carnwath, "the lord Bolingbroke sent for me very early one morning; and I no sooner entered his room than he asked me, with an adjuration, 'what moved me and so many *honest gentlemen* [Jacobites] to act so unaccountable a part?' I answered, 'that if his lordship and his friends would give a tolerable reason for their conduct of late, we could do the like, I believed.' He said, 'what had passed was unavoidable in the present state of affairs, and was, moreover, to be attributed to lord Oxford; but his business was done, and he would soon be laid aside. But it was not advisable to turn him out and his partisans while the present parliament sat, for his lordship would join the whigs and make a terrible bustle and clamor in parliament; whereas, if parliament was prorogued, there was no power to thwart or

interfere with the queen, who would be at liberty to do what she pleased.' Bolingbroke then threw out many hints that the restoration of her brother was the first wish of the queen's heart, which would be thwarted if Lockhart, Shippen, Packington, and other leaders of the *squadron volante* in the house of commons, stopped the wheels of state-business. 'Is it not,' continued the orator [Bolingbroke], 'better to take my word, and follow my advice at once, than run the risk of baffling the queen's designs, when it is a certain truth that they are such as will be agreeable to you?'

The queen, meantime, witnessed privately the discussions in parliament, and by her presence apparently formed some barrier to the furious effervescence of party hate. "Yesterday they were all in flame in the house of lords about the queen's answer, till her majesty came in and put an end to it."¹ History has not noted this custom of the monarchs of the seventeenth century. Charles II. often witnessed, as a private individual, the debates in parliament; he said they were entertaining as any comedy. William III. spent much of his time there; his entrances are always noted in the MS. journals of the house of lords. Queen Anne almost lived in the house of lords while it sat in session; she witnessed a debate within three weeks of her mortal attack. Her majesty came in the hopes that her presence might induce them to keep the peace. More than once, however, it happened that the name of the disinherited prince, her brother, was introduced by some Jacobite member into his speech; on which a stormy discussion took place. Order, etiquette, and even decency were forgotten by the speakers, and observations so pointed and personal were made, that her majesty, perceiving all eyes were turned on her box, became painfully embarrassed, and hastily drew the curtains with her own royal hand, to conceal her confusion. Her father's widow, Mary Beatrice, related this incident.²

¹ Letter from Dr. Arbuthnot to Swift, dated July 10, 1714.—Scott's Swift, vol. xvi. p. 140.

² MS. Memorials of the Queen of James II., in the archives of France; by

"In a few days," pursues Lockhart, "the money-bills and other affairs of moment being despatched, the parliament was prorogued, July 7, 1714; on which occasion the queen came to the house, looked extremely well, and spoke to both houses more brisk and resolute than on other the like occasions, acquainting them 'that she was determined to call them together before it was long.'"¹ It must be remembered that the queen's maladies proceeded from plethora, aggravated by habits which render such tendencies fatal to those who enjoy their ease overmuch. The queen had too much to drink, too much to eat, too little to do; and these causes colored her complexion with a semblance of health and strength far more dangerous than the wan hue of less perilous disease; hence the mistaken report of "good queen Anne's good looks," as recorded by her historian-senator, Lockhart of Carnwath. In her accustomed thrilling sweetness of voice, "she thanked her assembled peers and commons for the supplies they had given her for the current year, *and for discharging the national debts.*"² She added, "that her chief concern was to preserve to them and to their posterity their holy religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the present and future tranquillity of her kingdoms; but these desirable ends could never be obtained unless all groundless jealousies were laid aside, and unless they paid the same regard for her just prerogative which she had always showed for the rights of her people." Her majesty then prorogued her parliament until the 10th of August,—a day she never saw.

Lockhart pursues,³ "About an hour after this I met general Stanhope, walking all alone and very humdrum, in Westminster hall. I asked him, 'What was the matter with him? for he seemed to be out of humor, when every other body was rejoiced at being able to get into the coun-

favor of M. Guizot. A similar incident has been quoted in regard to a speech of lord Strafford, when he was her secretary of state; such was likely to occur frequently, as the queen was so often witness of debates.

¹ Lockhart of Carnwath Papers, vol. i. p. 478.

² Which discharge consisted in funding an alarming increase of it. See Toone's abstract of Acts of Anne; Chronology, vol. i. p. 432.

³ Lockhart of Carnwath Papers, vol. i. p. 479.

try.' He answered, 'that all true Britons had reason to be out of humor.' I replied, 'that I thought myself a Briton true, and yet was in a very good humor.'—'Why,' said he, 'then it seems you have not considered the queen's speech?' 'Yes I have,' replied Lockhart; 'and I was pleased with it, for I think she spoke like herself.'—'That's true enough,' said Stanhope; 'for, from what she said, I consider our liberties as gone.'—'I wish, with all my soul, it were so,' retorted Lockhart. 'How!' exclaimed Stanhope, 'do you declare openly for your Pretender?'—'The Pretender?' said Lockhart; 'I was not thinking of him. But as you Englishmen have made slaves of us Scots, I *would* [should] be glad to see ye reduced to the same state, which would make our union more complete and equal.'—'Well, well!' cried Stanhope, 'tis no jest. You'll get your Pretender; and you'll repent it, I answer, ere long!' and with that the gentleman went off in a prodigious fury."¹ It must have been the queen's mention of prerogative that incensed the whig-general Stanhope, and exhilarated Lockhart.

The queen had, it was supposed, dissolved parliament so unusually early as the 7th of July (O. S.) in order to prevent any discussions on the arrival of the baron de Bothmar, who was expected from Hanover to announce the death of the electress Sophia, at her palace of Herenhausen, the preceding 10th of June. German statesmen are proverbially as slow as those of Spain, and it appears that Bothmar did not arrive with his credentials until July 25th. A general mourning was, as a matter of course, ordered for her majesty's illustrious kinswoman, Anne herself complying with the injunction that had been issued in her name for all people to put on suitable mourning. The substitution of the elector's name in the Common Prayer-book, in the place of that of his mother, as heir-presumptive to the throne of Great Britain, caused the queen great agitation.

Anne's resolution of displacing Harley earl of Oxford from his dignity as lord treasurer appears to have been fully made at this time, but she found that no insult could

¹ Lockhart of Carnwath Papers, vol. i. p. 481.

induce him to quit office. "The *dragon* holds the *little machine* [the treasurer's white staff] with a dead gripe," wrote Arbuthnot. "I would no more have suffered what he has done than I would have sold myself to the galleys." Lady Masham huffed her cousin whenever he dined with her, which he usually did, and in company with his enemy, St. John lord Bolingbroke, not as her guest, but at the board of green-cloth. On one of these occasions she taunted him by saying, "You never did the queen any service, nor are you capable of doing her any." This was as late as July 14th, when it was found that nothing could induce "the dragon," as they called lord Oxford, to resign. The queen—to whom he was personally obnoxious, as he had given her some unknown but mortal offence in his fits of intoxication—imparted to the lords of her cabinet council the following extraordinary list of reasons for dismissing her lord treasurer; some of his delinquencies would have seemed more fitting for the discharge of an ill-conducted footman. Her majesty affirmed, "that he neglected all business,—was seldom to be understood; that when he did explain himself, she could not depend upon the truth of what he said; that he never came to her at the time she appointed; that he often came drunk; lastly, to crown all, he behaved to her with bad manners, *indecenty* [indecorum], and disrespect.' The stick [white staff] is still in his hand, because they cannot agree who shall be the new commissioners. We suppose the blow will be given to-night, or to-morrow morning."¹ This letter was dated July 27, 1714; it was written by one of Bolingbroke's under-secretaries of state. The blow was indeed given, but it was the death-blow to the queen. Her majesty was then at Kensington palace, where she always sojourned, and held council when detained to transact business in the middle of the summer. She had, in the preceding June, been better in health than usual; her spirits had been cheered by passing the schism bill, which she deemed would add to the prosperity of the church, although it was feared by

¹ Letter of Erasmus Lewis to Swift, dated Whitehall, July 27, 1714.—Scott's Swift, vol. ix. p. 166.

others that the bill would occasion some persecutions against the dissenters.¹

The queen had visited Windsor in the beginning of July, but having been taken ill there, had returned to Kensington, in hopes of putting an end to the perpetual quarrels between Harley, lord treasurer, and Bolingbroke, the secretary of state, by dismissing the former; she had frequently exclaimed, in the course of the session, "that the perpetual contention of which her cabinet council was the scene, would cause her death;" therefore she determined to bring matters to a crisis on Tuesday, the 27th of July. Her majesty wrote a note to the earl of Oxford on the morning of that day, telling him "she was willing to receive the resignation of his charge." The earl ran to speak with the queen, who was at first denied to him, but he was admitted two hours later; he only stayed with her majesty one quarter of an hour. He then went to the treasury, made his payments and arrangements, and, at eight in the evening of the same day, returned to the queen, into whose hands he finally surrendered his white staff.² The adventures of this eventful day had not concluded; later in the evening a cabinet council was held (after the earl of Oxford had resigned his staff, consequently about nine o'clock), to

¹ See the Life of Calamy, vol. ii., who bitterly complains of it. It seems never to have been acted on; it was another edition of the 'occasional conformity bill,' the animus of which was, to prevent dissenters from qualifying themselves to legislate for our church by taking the sacramental test.

² Lamberty's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du 18^{me} Siècle*, second edition, vol. viii. p. 657. Somerville declares that the scene of Harley's dismissal took place at Windsor; but this is inconsistent with the circumstantial detail the author has translated from the French letter of Lamberty, which describes the comings and goings of Harley earl of Oxford from the treasury to the queen at Kensington. The fact is, Somerville had not the advantages of Lamberty, who was staying at the Hague with baron de Hiems, the Hanoverian minister there, and had access to the despatch of baron de Hoffman, the emperor's minister in England, brought from London by Craggs, who had been sent by the privy council to the elector of Hanover. Somerville has been deceived by the assertion of Erasmus Lewis, in the Swift Correspondence, dated July 22d, who says, "Next Tuesday the queen goes to Windsor;" but on that day she certainly received the white staff at Kensington, according to Lamberty's detail, which he had direct from Craggs and the Hanoverian minister.

consult what persons were to be named in the commission, into which the office of the lord treasurer or prime-minister was to be put, for every one of the Jacobite party shrank from its sole responsibility. Sir William Wyndham offered to be one of the five commissioners,—he was just appointed chancellor of the exchequer. None of the council could agree as to the other four partners. The chief Jacobites in the queen's cabinet council may be reckoned as lord Harcourt, the duke of Ormonde, sir William Wyndham, the duke of Buckingham, and the duke of Shrewsbury; but the last is doubtful. However this might be the partisans of the displaced premier kept the invalid queen sitting at council until two in the morning, while they were raging at the Jacobite faction in the most frightful manner; the scene was only terminated by the violent agitation of the queen, who complained of the disorder of her head, and finally sank into a deep swoon from utter exhaustion. Nothing was settled, and her majesty was carried to bed seriously ill;¹ she wept the live-long night, without once closing her eyes.²

Another council was called for the 28th of July, with as little success in regard to any settled determination; it was again broken up by the illness of the queen, and consequently was prorogued until the 29th of July.³ The queen declared to her physicians that her indisposition was occasioned by the trouble of mind which the disputes of her ministers gave her, and made use of these words to Dr. Arbuthnot:—"I shall never survive it." Her majesty was observed to be unusually silent and reserved at these two remarkable councils, probably from an utter incapacity for utterance.

Lady Masham became apprehensive that her royal mistress was on the verge of an illness far more alarming than any of the numerous attacks through which she had previously nursed her. In her alarm she wrote the result of

¹ Swift's original note, signed H., to Erasmus Lewis's letter. It coincides with Lamberty's foregoing letter. It is the old edition of Swift.

² Lamberty, vol. viii. p. 657.

³ *La Vie d'Anne Stuart, Reine de la Grande Bretagne, etc.* : 1716.

her observations on the queen's uneasiness of mind and body to dean Swift, the only politician at that crisis to whom she attributed energy and decision of character. Swift had been about the court the whole summer, soliciting the place of "historiographer to the queen," for the purpose of writing the history of the peace of Utrecht.¹ Her majesty, or her ministers, had given the office to the learned Madox,² a person whose heart and soul were buried among the dusty records of the Plantagenets,—studies much more convenient than stirring up the yet glowing embers of a ratification which might have been called a cessation from bloodshed rather than a peace, so replete was its very name with the elements of strife, a peculiarity which it retains to this day. The stormy transition from sanguinary warfare to such peace as the treaty of Utrecht gave, was even then rudely shaking the sands of the queen's precarious existence. "I was," said lady Masham³ to Swift, "resolved to stay till I could tell you that our queen had got so far the better of the *dragon* as to take her power out of his hands. He has been the most ungrateful man to her, and to all his best friends, that ever was born. I cannot have much time now to write all my mind, for my dear mistress is not well, and I think I may lay her illness to the charge of the lord treasurer, who, for three weeks together, was vexing and teasing her without intermission; she could not get rid of him till Tuesday last (July 27th). I must put you in mind of one passage in your letter to me, which is, 'I pray God send you wise and faithful friends to advise with you at this time, when there are so great difficulties to struggle with.' That is very plain and

¹ A great mistake, for he lived a century too near the time; he could not have published the gist of his documents. For instance, the Torcy Despatches we have just quoted would have caused many impeachments. Swift was then staying at the village of Letcombe, to keep out of the quarrels of his two friends, Harley earl of Oxford, and Bolingbroke.

² To whose learned researches, as historian of the Exchequer, the earlier biographies in this work have been peculiarly indebted. Madox troubled himself nought with the peace of Utrecht, or such moderns as Tudors, Stuarts, and Guelphs.

³ The letter is in the Swift Correspondence, dated July 29th.—Scott's Swift, vol. ix. p. 168. Harley is called the dragon, and lord treasurer, in it.

true; therefore will you, who have gone through so much, and taken more pains than anybody, and given wise advice (if that wretched man [Oxford] had had sense and honesty to have taken it), I say, will you leave us and go into Ireland? No, it is impossible; your charity and compassion for this *poor lady* [the queen], who has been barbarously used, will not let you do it. I know you take great delight to help the distressed, and there cannot be a greater object than this *good lady*, who deserves pity. Pray, dear friend, stay here, and do not believe us all alike, to throw away good advice, and despise everybody's understanding but one's own. I could say a great deal upon the subject, but I must go to *her*, for she is not well. This comes to you by a safe hand, so that neither of us need be in any pain about it."

At the very moment when the compassion of one of the mightiest minds in her empire was thus claimed for queen Anne by her confidential attendant, the destiny deprecated for her majesty was near at hand. Two councils having been interrupted by the violent illness of the queen, the decisive one was delayed until the evening of the 29th of July (Thursday). The anticipation of another agitating and protracted scene of altercation between the unmannerly worldlings, who, although they styled themselves her servants, not only violated the respect due to her as their sovereign, but conducted themselves with the most cruel disregard of her feelings as a lady and her weakness as an invalid, was of course most distressing to the poor sufferer, who was sinking prematurely to the grave beneath the weight of the crown she had sinfully coveted, and, for her own punishment, obtained. Worn out as she was with sickness of mind and body, Anne had not completed her fiftieth year. When the hour appointed for the royal victim to meet these trusty lords of her council drew near, Mrs. Danvers, the oldest, and probably the most attached lady of her household, entering the presence-chamber at Kensington palace, saw, to her surprise, her majesty standing before the clock, and gazing intently upon it.¹ Mrs.

¹ Tindal affirms that the clock-scene took place on Thursday morning (29th of July), at eight o'clock. Yet no such serious alarm of imminent danger

Danvers¹ was alarmed and perplexed by the sight, as her majesty was seldom able to move without assistance. She approached, and ascertained that it was indeed queen Anne who stood there. Venturing to interrupt the ominous silence that prevailed through the vast room, only broken by the heavy ticking of the clock, she asked "whether her majesty saw anything unusual there, in the clock?" The queen answered not, yet turned her eyes on the questioner with so woful and ghastly a regard, that, as this person afterwards affirmed, "she saw death in the look."² Assistance was summoned by the cries of the terrified attendant, and the queen was conveyed to her bed, from whence she never rose again. It appears that her dread of a third stormy council had caused her illness. "Her majesty was taken," says Lamberty, "on the evening of the 29th of July, with a burning fever. Her brain was affected, and she murmured all night, at intervals, words relative to 'the Pretender,' without cessation."

There can be no doubt that this peculiar bias of the queen's mind occasioned her illness to be concealed for several hours in the recesses of the royal apartments of her palace at Kensington. Dr. Arbuthnot and lady Masham dared not make her majesty's state so public as to induce a general consultation of the royal physicians, lest one of them, doctor Mead (a politician in the whig interest), should hear the poor queen uttering "the perilous stuff" that weighed so heavily on her breast. Yet there was a medical consultation held, in the middle of that important night, by Dr. Arbuthnot and such physicians as were in ordinary attendance on her majesty, being Dr. Thomas Lawrence, Dr. Hans Sloane, Dr. Shadwell, and Dr. sir

could have occurred then, as is plainly to be ascertained by lady Masham's letter to Swift, dated on the 29th; just quoted, p. 541.

¹ Said by Tindal to be Mrs. Danvers; by the Amsterdam Life, to be her daughter.

² Tindal, in his *Continuation of Rapin*, Barnard, in his *History of England*, and *La Vie d'Anne Stuart*, all mentioned this clock-scene, but all speak of it as occurring in the morning of the 29th of July. The letter of lady Masham sufficiently contradicts this assertion. Lamberty alone mentions it as happening in the *evening* of the 29th.

David Hamilton (the same person whose very remarkable correspondence with the duchess of Marlborough has been previously quoted).¹ It was agreed that her majesty ought to be cupped, which was accordingly done, in the presence of lady Masham and Dr. Arbuthnot, about two in the morning of July 30th. Eight ounces of blood, very thick, were taken from her; she was relieved from her worst symptoms, but it was observed that her eyes looked dull and heavy.² Severe indications of indigestion occurred; indeed, the common traditional report that the death of "good queen Anne" was occasioned by her eating a vast quantity of black-heart cherries was, perhaps, not altogether unfounded. Towards morning the queen fell asleep; it is said she rose at her accustomed hour of seven in the morning, and was attired and combed by her women; but such an alarming relapse occurred at half-past eight that Dr. Arbuthnot was forced to make her malady public, for he could not have recourse to the lancet without more authority, and he considered the royal patient was suffering under an access of apoplexy. When Mr. Dickens, the queen's apothecary, had taken ten ounces of blood from her majesty's arm, a sound was heard of some one falling heavily. The queen was sufficiently recovered to ask, "What that noise was?" Her attendants answered, "It was lady Masham, who had swooned from grief and exhaustion." It was judged proper to carry lady Masham for recovery from the royal apartments, and the bustle of removing her, together with the incident itself, was supposed greatly to alarm and hurry the queen.³

Her majesty experienced a third terrible seizure of pain and weight in the head just before ten o'clock the same morning, and every one around her believed that her death

¹ From the inedited Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

² *La Vie d'Anne Stuart, Reine de la Grande Bretagne*, etc. : 1716, Amsterdam, p. 447. This biography has preserved several links in the chain of the last eventful days of the life of Anne, entirely lost in her native annals; but, in common with several English histories, it calls Friday July 29th, which was not the case, for it is widely known that the accession of George I. took place Sunday morning, August 1, 1714.

³ *La Vie d'Anne Stuart* : 1716, Amsterdam.

would be immediate. There is reason to suppose that the duchess of Ormonde had, in the late violent changes, succeeded to the functions of the duchess of Somerset, the queen's principal lady and mistress of the robes. Terrified at the state of her royal mistress, the duchess of Ormonde sent an account of it to her husband, who was then at the Cockpit, the official seat of government, endeavoring to arrange the jarring and broken cabinet council, of which he seems to have been president.¹ The news flew like fire over London, and the influential whig magnates, the dukes of Somerset and Argyle, forced their way into the assembling privy council, and insisted on taking their places therein. From that moment they swayed everything, for the displaced premier, the earl of Oxford, had sent a private circular to every whig lord in or near London who had ever belonged to the privy council,² warning them to come and make a struggle for the Protestant succession. There is no doubt that Oxford had had immediate notice of the queen's mortal seizure on the preceding evening.

Dr. Mead's hopes made him bold in pronouncing the truth. No one about the dying queen chose to believe him; upon which he demanded "that those who were really in favor of the Protestant succession in the royal household should send a memorial of her majesty's symptoms to the elector of Hanover's physicians, who would soon pronounce how long Anne, queen of Great Britain and Ireland, had to live; but he staked his professional credit that her majesty would be no more long before such intelligence could be received." It has always been considered

¹ Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 370.

² Here we resume the narrative of Lamberty, whose evidence is confirmed on every side by eye-witnesses, *who dared not boldly say what he said safely in a foreign land*. His former position in England (as an official in William III.'s cabinets), and his acquaintance personally with all parties, rendered it not easy to deceive him. This excellent authority has been feebly impugned by Cole because "*making queen Anne grieve for her brother on her death-bed was disrespectful to the memory of that illustrious princess.*" This objector to documents which did not hit his fancy was not the learned historical antiquarian, Thomas Cole (as usually supposed), but the envoy Christian Cole, whose intellect is much on the grade of that of lord Noodle, in the burletta of Tom Thumb.

that the prompt boldness of this political physician occasioned the peaceable proclamation of George I. The queen's demise in one hour was confidently predicted by her whig doctor.¹ He was often taunted afterwards with the chagrin his countenance expressed when the royal patient, on being again blooded, recovered her speech and senses. Lord Bolingbroke went to her, and told her the privy council were of opinion it would be for the public service if the duke of Shrewsbury were made lord treasurer. The queen immediately consented. But the duke refused to accept the staff unless the queen herself placed it in his hand. He approached her bed, and asked her "If she knew to whom she gave the white wand?"—"Yes," the queen replied; "to the duke of Shrewsbury." History adds, that when the dying sovereign placed it in his hands she added, "For God's sake use it for the good of my people!"²—a speech perfectly consistent with Anne's conduct as regnant, because, whatsoever wrong she practised before her accession, she was a most beneficent and loving sovereign to her people, who have reason to bless her name to this hour.

Queen Anne retained sufficient intelligence to be conscious that the duke of Shrewsbury, then invested by her act with the power of prime-minister, in addition to his mighty functions of lord high-chamberlain and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, must, perforce, act according to the parliamentary settlement in favor of her distant kinsman, the elector of Hanover. Having thus performed her duty as queen, all the duties she had outraged in her early career to obtain the crown overwhelmed her conscience, and rendered her death-bed comfortless. When her mind wandered, she began to utter, in a piteous tone, "Oh, my brother! oh, my poor brother!"³ The bishop of London stood by her bedside, contemplating this awful termination of the successful fruition of ambition. He was the same prelate who had assisted her in giving peace to Europe, and had been advanced to the see of London on the miserable death

¹ *Biographia Britannica*.

² Lamberty's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du 8^{me} Siècle*, tome viii. p. 657, second edition; Brit. Museum.

³ *Ibid.*

of the queen's former tutor, the aged Henry Compton.¹ The nature of the injunctions given by the dying sovereign to Robinson, bishop of London, after the long private conference, in which she said (in compliance with the recommendation in the rubric for the Visitation of the Sick) to have disburdened her mind of the weighty matter that troubled her departing spirit, was surmised from his emphatic rejoinder, as he left her bedside, "Madame, I will obey your commands. I will declare your mind, but it will cost me my head." The words were heard by the duchess of Ormonde; at the same time the queen said, "She would receive the sacrament the next day."² Whatsoever was done by the bishop of London it is impossible to say, but probability points at the fact that the royal wish was delivered to the duke of Ormonde, the commander of the army.

The queen, when the bishop had withdrawn, fell again into her delirious agony, and she reiterated unceasingly her former exclamations of, "Oh, my brother! my dear brother! what will become of you?" Something within her mind stronger than delirium must have whispered that her recently-given commands would be useless. Little did the queen anticipate when, as the princess Anne in 1688, she was eagerly employed in casting the well-known stigma on the birth of her brother, that her death-bed lamentations would be for him, and that her last agonizing cry would be his name! She continued to repeat this sad exclamation until speech, sight, and pulse left her. The privy council then assembled³ in the royal bedchamber, demanding of

¹ This prelate, who lived to be eighty-four, met with a dreadful accident. He fell backwards from the top of a high flight of stairs, which he was ascending without the assistance proper at his great age. He hurt the back of his head, and was taken up for dead, but revived, and, according to the cruel jest of Swift, was "as sensible as ever." He lingered in misery a few weeks, and died in the beginning of the year 1713. Tindal. Swift.

² MS. Memorandum-Book, preserved in the Bodleian library, copied by Macpherson in the Stuart Papers. The particulars agree wonderfully well with the important document of the whig statesman, Lamberty.

³ Lamberty, *Ibid.* The privy council, or some of the most responsible members, must have been assembled in the queen's chamber, because Lamberty says "*they quitted her, but the bishop remained with her,*" etc.

the physicians to declare their opinions, who agreed that the queen's state was hopeless. All the members of the privy council withdrew, except the bishop of London, who remained near the insensible queen; but she never again manifested sufficient consciousness to speak or pray, although she, from time to time, showed signs of actual existence. As the privy council separated, the duke of Buckingham came to the duke of Ormonde, clapped his hand on his shoulder, and said, "My lord, you have four-and-twenty hours to do our business in, and make yourself master of the kingdom."¹ The military force was in the hands of Ormonde. Buckingham knew that a direct appeal to arms would be as useless as it was criminal; yet if any popular indication had coincided with his wishes, he had little doubt regarding which side Ormonde would have taken, but there was no such movement.

The great seal was put to an important patent by four o'clock the same day.² It was to provide for the government of the country by four-and-twenty regents, constituting an *interregnum*. The act had been prepared for years, and enclosed in "*the black bag*," which the duchess of Marlborough exultingly intimates had long been a source of inexpressible horror to queen Anne, whensoever her thoughts glanced that way.³

Dr. Radcliffe, who had been, since noon, sent for from Carshalton to attend her majesty, returned for answer in the evening, "that he was ill, and could not come." The queen's friends were positive that, although the poor man was actually in a dying state himself, he could arrest the power of death almost by looking upon the royal patient, for "the lord Gower had often been in the same condition as the queen with the *gout in the head*, and Radcliffe kept him alive many years." The privy council never sent any order to Dr. Radcliffe, nor was his name ever mentioned there, or by the queen herself; it was only lady Masham

¹ Marginal note, Carte's Memorandum-Book, marked vol. xi. pp. 4 to 13: 1714. Bodleian.

² Letter of C. Ford to Swift.—Scott's Swift, vol. xvi. p. 173.

³ Coxe MSS.

who sent privately an agonizing entreaty to summon him.¹ "I am just come from Kensington," writes Charles Ford, an official in the government and a correspondent of Swift, Saturday, July 31st, "where I have spent these two days, At present the queen is alive, and better than could have been expected; her disorder began about eight or nine yesterday morning.² The doctors ordered her head to be shaved; while it was being done, the queen fell into convulsions, or, as they say, a fit of apoplexy, which lasted two hours, during which time she showed but little signs of life." At six in the evening of the same day, another anxious watcher within the palace walls, Erasmus Lewis, one of the displaced secretaries, wrote to Swift:—"At the time I am writing, the breath is *said* to be in the queen's nostrils, but that is all. No hopes of her recovery. Lord Oxford is in council; so are the whigs.³ We expect the demise to-night. There is every prospect that the elector of Hanover [George I.] will meet with no opposition, the French having no fleet nor being able to put one out so soon. Lady Masham received me kindly; poor woman, I heartily pity her. Dr. Arbuthnot thinks you should come up. A report had been carried into the city, during the course of Saturday afternoon, that the queen was actually dead; and, what was more infamous, stocks rose on it as much as three per cent.;" but that was really no disgrace to the queen's memory.

Again the rumor spread that her majesty's danger was over, and that she was fast recovering. She was prayed for in the daily service at St. Paul's cathedral,⁴ but not in her own royal chapel of St. James;⁵ and the omission there excited the surprise and anger of her anxious sub-

¹ Scott's Swift, vol. xvi. p. 172.

² Thus reckoning the queen's illness only from Friday morning. Such was the official date of queen Anne's mortal attacks, while the ambassadorial reports of Hoffman and Bothmar declare she had raved that live-long night.—Lamberty.

³ Much of Lamberty's intelligence is thus verified, line by line, by these sub-ministers; they dared not put to paper the rest of his intelligence.

⁴ Thoresby's Journal.

⁵ Ford's letter.—Scott's Swift, vol. xvi. p. 171.

jects. Dr. Mead, the whig physician, again manifested his chagrin when the queen seemed to rally and recover as the day advanced, and actually imbibed a little nourishment, although past the power of utterance. The council, which had sat through the preceding day and night, adjourned till eight next morning, having first despatched Craggs to Hanover by the Hague, laid embargo on all shipping, and ordered the Hanoverian envoy to attend with the black bag or box, wherein was deposited the authority for the regency in case of the demise of the queen.¹ It has been already observed that the displaced minister, Oxford, had, at the first alarm of the queen's illness, sent round little billets to summon all the whig lords to the privy council, and when there, he continued to exert himself in favor of the Hanoverian succession.² The lords of the council sent to the lord mayor to take special care of the city; the trained bands were raised, and a triple guard sent to the Tower. All persons were deeply concerned among the populace at the state of the queen, as was visible by their countenances. Great solicitude was manifested regarding her, all the 31st of July, in the swarming and agitated streets; some reported she was better, others that she had died at eleven o'clock at noon. She was again prayed for in St. Paul's cathedral in the afternoon daily service, but nowhere else.

During the hours while the insensible queen was thus suspended over the abyss of eternity, other vigils were held in the recesses of her palace at Kensington, and other councils besides that one, the vigilance of which secured the throne to our present royal line. If the evidence of an enemy may be admitted, the "Jacobite members of the queen's household were greatly taken by surprise at her sudden and mortal attack, having shut their eyes to all symptoms of her danger, in strong reliance on a prediction which had given her years of life to come." One of the queen's physicians is charged with these defective con-

¹ Ford's letter.—Scott's *Swift*, vol. xvi. p. 171; and Lamberty's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du 18^{me} Siècle*.

² *Ibid*.

George 1

After the Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller



jurations; but Peter Rae¹ leaves his readers' imagination to rove over a formidable medical band without indicating the professor of the black art among them, further than that "one of her physicians, the most intimate with her, had pretended, by some other art [than physic], whether of calculation, magic, or other *infernal* speculations, to tell the great men of the royal household 'that the queen would live six years and a half.' This was certainly a reason why they were the more secure, and had not their design complete, and all orders and warrants in readiness for the execution thereof." So says this contemporary, but he comes to a false conclusion; for Anne would never have authorized any such warrants while she believed her existence would last one day.

"The first alarm of the queen's illness and surprising distemper," continues Peter Rae, "brought the whole Jacobite party to court; the great officers, as well as the privy councillors of the other sex, met in a certain lady's apartment. In these apartments business of the nicest nature in government used to be familiarly discussed. It was found that my lady [Masham] was with the queen, whereupon they sent for *the countess*." This lady had been watching by the queen for some hours, and had retired to take a little rest; she rose and dressed, but was ill and in tears when she entered the Jacobite conclave. She is supposed to be lady Jersey, the widow of Edward earl of Jersey. Nothing could be done without lady Masham, who was sent for from the royal chamber. She entered in the utmost disorder, and without staying for any question, cried out, "Oh, my lords! we are undone; entirely ruined. The queen is a dead woman; all the world cannot save her!" Upon which, one of the lords asked, "if the queen had her senses? and if lady Masham thought she could speak to them?" — "Impossible!" returned lady

¹ Peter Rae's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 54. He evidently is guided by a curious pamphlet of that day, containing much authentic intelligence; it is called *Two Nights' Court at Greenwich*. Its name is derived from the circumstance that George I. remained at the queen's house in Greenwich park (now the naval school) the two first nights of his landing as king of Great Britain.

Masham; "her pain deprives her of all sense, and in the intervals she dozes, and speaks to nobody."—"That is hard indeed," said another of the lords. "Could she but speak to us and give us orders, and sign them, we might do the business for all this."—"Alas!" said another lord, "who would act on such orders? We are all undone!" To whom another replied, "Then, my lord, we cannot be worse. I assure you, that if her majesty would give orders to proclaim her successor in her lifetime, I would do it at the head of the army. I'll answer for the soldiers." The duke of Ormonde, commander-in-chief, is clearly indicated by this speech. "Do it, then," said Dr. Atterbury, the bishop of Rochester; "let us go out and proclaim the chevalier at Charing cross. Do you not see that we have no time to lose?"¹ The *countess* begged them to waive debate, "for," said she, "there is nothing to be done; her majesty is no longer capable of directing anything. She is half dead already; I'll die for her, if she lives four-and-twenty hours." The duke of Ormonde returned, "Lord, what an unhappy thing this is! What a cause is here lost at one blow! Is there no remedy?"

After some discourse they sent lady Masham to see if there was any alteration in the queen. She presently returned, and told them, "It is all the same; she's drawing on. She dies upwards; her feet are cold and dead already." One of the secret conclave then proposed "to temporize for the instant, and on the last breath issuing from the queen, to proclaim the elector of Hanover, whom they would privately do their best to oppose; at the worst, they should all be exonerated, by pleading that they were the first and forwardest to proclaim him." The lords appeared stunned at this proposal; but one of them, turning to "the countess," said, "Pray, madame, what is your opinion?"²—"Let my opinion be what it may," she replied, "I see no other way. The queen will be dead to-morrow.

¹ This speech is not in Peter Rae's abstract of this council, but in his authority, the *Two Nights at Greenwich*.

² Again Peter Rae has diverged from his authority. He puts a very long oration into the mouth of one of the lords, but to the same effect.

Our measures are in no forwardness; all is disconcerted since the last remove [meaning of Harley earl of Oxford from being lord treasurer]. To make any attempt would be to ruin ourselves, and help the establishment of those we hate. The successor must be immediately proclaimed; if we decline it, the whigs will do it with the greatest clamor, and will not fail to fall on us for not doing it. By all means do it, and receive the credit of it. Such is your only way.”¹

¹ The author received the following valuable communication from some courteous unknown correspondent. It will be observed that the narrative agrees, in many circumstances, with Rae's Memorials, quoted above; and, as far as documentary historical biographers dare sanction any paper, the original of which has not been before them, we must say the coincidences with the whole tenor of the latter portion of the life of queen Anne are striking enough to induce belief in its veracity:—“When queen Anne was dying, Mr. Scott, of Brotherstown, a colonel of the guards, was on guard at the palace that night in which the queen died. He went to Dr. Arbuthnot, one of the queen's physicians, and desired the doctor ‘to tell him whenever the queen was dead;’ but the doctor told him, ‘that he durst not.’ Upon this the colonel desired the doctor ‘to let him know by the sign of putting to the window a white handkerchief;’ to which the doctor agreed. As soon as the queen was dead, Dr. Arbuthnot gave the sign; upon which the colonel went to the earl-marischal's house, and desired to see him immediately. The servant told the colonel ‘that he was forbid to admit any person to his lordship till his bell was rung, as he was late up the night before, and it was yet very early in the morning;’ but the colonel insisted on being admitted, as he had matters of great consequence to communicate to his lordship. He locked the room door, and then awaked his lordship, and desired him ‘to rise immediately and proclaim the king, as the queen, his sister, was dead, which none out of the palace knew but him. His lordship said, ‘there might be danger in doing it;’ but the colonel said, ‘there would be none, if they did it without loss of time.’ He assured his lordship, ‘if he would draw out the guards immediately, and proclaim the king (James Stuart) at Charing cross, he knew the duke of Ormonde was ready to do the same at the head of the army, and that he would take upon himself to secure the Tower;’ but his lordship remained quite obstinate, and said, ‘that it might cost them their lives if they failed in the attempt.’ But the colonel repeated his assurance, ‘that there was not the least fear, if done immediately;’ and ‘although they lost their lives, it was losing them in an honorable way,’ and ‘gave his word of honor, that if they were brought to a trial, he would do all in his power to save his lordship's life, and would declare, when on the scaffold, that it was by his persuasion his lordship did it, he being a young man.’ But all was to no purpose; he remained quite obstinate, and would do nothing, at which the colonel left him in a great passion. This conference was not known until after the battle of Sheriffmuir. Dr. Arbuthnot asked at colonel Scott, some time after, ‘What he meant by being so particular about the queen's death?’ but the colonel would not tell the doctor.

Queen Anne drew her last breath between seven and eight o'clock, August 1, 1714, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign. Like her predecessor, she died on a Sunday morning. When the queen was released, the lords-regent commanded Addison, whom they had appointed their secretary, to announce the important event to the prince whom the choice of the nation had appointed her successor. The celebrated author was com-

"When earl-marischal was retreating after the battle of Sheriffmuir, in company with Mr. Irvine, of Brackly, they being very much fatigued, his lordship threw himself down on the ground, and burst out a crying, which surprised Mr. Irvine greatly, who bade his lordship 'not lose courage, as he hoped soon to get to some place where they would get rest and refreshment.' His lordship replied, 'that it was not the fatigue they had undergone that day that distressed him, but that he had to answer for the death of all the men that were killed that day. Had he taken colonel Scott's advice at queen Anne's death, he might have saved his country by restoring the king when it was in his power.' And although 'we had then failed, I *would* have died with honor; whereas I *will* die now like a dog, unregretted;' upon which he told Mr. Irvine the whole conference that passed between colonel Scott and him at the queen's death, which surprised Mr. Irvine extremely. Mr. Irvine told this to Mr. Ogilvie, of Balbignie, colonel Scott's half-brother, and to Mr. Peter Smith, Methuen's brother. Some time after, colonel Scott came to Balbignie, where he met Mr. Irvine and Mr. Peter Smith. Mr. Ogilvie, in presence of these gentlemen, asked the colonel 'if the above conference had passed between the earl-marischal and him at queen Anne's death?' The colonel confessed it had; 'but desired it might not be spoke of while he lived, as it might lose him his commission, he being still in the army.' Mr. Ogilvie told his lady, who is still alive, and ready to attest the truth of it.

"Edinburgh, 30th April, 1768.

"Of this date I wrote the above, as dictated by Mrs. Agnes Haldame Dundas, and she read it to Mrs. Ogilvie, who said 'she was ready to give oath to the truth of the narration.'

"CHARLES WILSONE.

"Glasgow, 18th November, 1812."

The reader will observe that many particulars coincide with the narrative above quoted. The only difficulty in the history is, wherefore so determined a man as colonel Scott seemed to be should be entirely swayed by the decision of the earl-marischal of Scotland? seeing his guards were on English ground, and the commander-in-chief of the English army affected to be willing to do the same. The truth is, that every one of the Jacobites wished the proclamation to be hazarded by some one rather than himself. The guards indicated were probably the Scots Royals, the incorporation of which regiment or regiments into the force of the body-guards of queen Anne has been noted in the preceding chapters,—a circumstance not a little confirmatory of our anonymous correspondent's anecdote.

pletely overwhelmed with the importance of his task, and while he was culling words and phrases commensurate in dignity to the occasion,¹ hours fled away,—hours of immense importance to the Protestant cause in England. At last, the regency was forced to call to its assistance Mr. Southwell, a clerk belonging to the house of lords, who announced to the elector of Hanover “that the British sovereign was dead, and that the throne was vacant,” using the dry, technical phrases best fitted for tidings received, if not without positive exultation, certainly without affectation of sorrow. “On the Sunday morning, the proclamation of George I. took place,” says Thoresby,² who witnessed it, “mightily to the satisfaction of all the people,”—of which there was the greatest concourse ever known, not only of the populace, but of the nobility and gentry, who attended in their coaches. The bishop of London and vast numbers of the clergy were likewise present. The next day this witness of the peaceable recognition of the line of Hanover “went to prayers at St. Dunstan’s, where king George was prayed for.” Three days afterwards he saw the triumphant entry of the duke of Marlborough, “who returned from a sort of voluntary exile, passing through the city of London in great state, attended by hundreds of gentlemen on horseback, and some of the nobility in their coaches, followed by the city trained bands.”³ This array was made to intimidate those who were inimical to the Protestant succession; and these persons reflected, with the utmost bitterness, on Marlborough, for assuming a demeanor so joyous and triumphant, when the corpse was scarcely cold of his early friend and benefactress. His grand coach broke down by Temple bar, much to the satisfaction of the Jacobites.⁴

A fortnight afterwards the good old antiquary, Thoresby, visited Westminster abbey, to see the royal vault preparing

¹ Tindal’s Continuation. Addison was chosen secretary of the regency on this emergency. He was made secretary of state in 1717, the year after his wretched marriage with the countess-dowager of Warwick. The anecdote is recorded by Dr. Johnson, in his biography of Addison.

² Thoresby’s Diary, vol. ii. pp. 245–248.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Peter Rae’s History of the Rebellion.

to receive the corpse of queen Anne. It was with difficulty he made his way through the immense crowds that thronged to gaze on the last resting-place of their native princes. "It was affecting," says our moralist, "to see the silent relics of the great monarchs, Charles II., William and Mary, and prince George; next whom remains only one space to be filled with her late majesty, queen Anne. This sight was the more touching to me, because, when young, I saw in one balcony six of them that afterwards were kings and queens of Great Britain, all brisk and hearty, but all now entered on a boundless eternity! There were then present, king Charles and his queen Catharine, the duke of York, the prince and princess of Orange, and the princess Anne." He mentions with reverence the velvet, silver plates, nails, and hasps which adorned the royal coffins; but all this cost and magnificence is hidden from the eye, and now moulders with the silent dead.

A vast mass of conflicting statements exists relative to queen Anne, whose memory has experienced more than the accustomed portion of praise and blame that usually pertains to the royal dead. Anne never refused her regal assent to one bill tendered to her to be enacted into a law; no person was put to death in her reign for high treason,—circumstances which rendered it remarkable in English history. "As to her privy-purse,¹ it was the poor's box, a perpetual fund for charity. And it appeared after her death (for she made no ostentation of her charities, nor were flatterers employed to trumpet them about) that several persons had pensions from the privy-purse,—pensions not given as bribes to do the dirty work of a minister, but merely out of charity for the support of indigent families. If she was frugal, it was to enable her to be generous, and she would have thought that she defrauded her people if she had been niggardly in order to lock up that money

¹ From lord Chesterfield's estimate of the revenues of the house of Stuart, contained in a work entitled *Common Sense, or the Englishman's Journal*. It is attributed to this nobleman in the Catalogue of the Brit. Museum. Although troubled with a superabundance of quaint politesse, lord Chesterfield was a wise and beneficent statesman.

in chests which should circulate among them, or had sent it to foreign banks; and therefore all she could spare she returned back again to them as their right. It must be observed that all this was done without anything that looked like sordid saving,—no retrenching her servants at their tables, allowances, or perquisites; the hospitality within doors was equal to the charity without.”

Dr. Radcliffe, who was a member of the house of commons, was fiercely attacked there by a friend of his, who was rendered desperate by his sorrow for the demise of the queen. To this the physician replied by a letter of remonstrance, in which he thus mentions the deceased sovereign; the date August 3, 1714:—

“I could not have thought that so old an acquaintance and so good a friend as sir John always professed himself would have made such a motion against me. God knows that my will to do her majesty any service has ever got the start of my ability, and I have nothing that gives me greater anxiety than the death of that glorious princess. I must do that justice to the physician that attended her in her illness, from a sight of the method taken for her preservation by Dr. Mead, as to declare that nothing was omitted for her preservation. But the [political] people about her—the plagues of Egypt fall on them!—put it out of the power of physic to be any benefit to her.

“I know the nature of attending crowned heads in their last moments too well to be fond of waiting upon them without being sent for by a proper authority. You have heard of pardons being signed for physicians before a sovereign’s demise. However, ill as I was, I would have *went* to the queen in a horse-litter, had either her majesty, or those in commission next to her, commanded me so to do. You may tell sir John as much; his zeal for her majesty will not excuse his ill usage of a friend. Thank Tom Chapman for his speech made in my behalf. I hear it is the first he ever made, which is taken more kindly. I should be glad to see him at Carshalton, since the gout tells me that we shall never more sit in the house of commons together.”¹

Dr. Radcliffe, whose reminiscences are connected with the last moments of all the royal personages of the English revolution, did not survive queen Anne many months, and his death was reported to be in a manner involved with her own. There was a large portion of the people who passionately lamented the last of their native line of sovereigns, and with these Dr. Radcliffe became an object of detestation, because the idea had gone forth among them that he

¹ Scott’s Swift, vol. xvi. pp. 174, 175.

might have saved "good queen Anne, and would not." It is said that he dared not quit his house, on account of his dread of being torn limb from limb. Indeed, a letter of his is extant, in which he affirms that he had received many threatening missives, promising "that he should be pulled in pieces if he ventured to London." However, he was not a man to be intimidated, and it is evident, by the conclusion of his letter above quoted, that he knew his fiat had gone forth by reason of his personal ailments, and that he could never again sit in the house of commons. He died on the 1st of November following, only surviving his royal patient three months.

That the melancholy struggle of the unhappy queen with conflicting rights and duties brought her to the grave prematurely, is the expressed opinion of her own domestic physician, Dr. Arbuthnot. There is true attachment and deep tenderness in the manner in which he speaks of the departed queen, when all regard to her memory was, to say the least, no great advantage to those who were seen to mourn for her. "My dear mistress's days were numbered, even in my imagination;¹ they could not exceed certain limits, but of that small number a great deal was cut off by the last troublesome scene of contention among her servants. I believe sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller than death was to her. It surprised her suddenly, before she had signed her will, which, no doubt, her being involved in so much business hindered her from finishing. It was unfortunate that she had been persuaded (as is supposed by Lowndes) that it was necessary to have it under the great seal. I had figured to myself all this melancholy scene twenty times, and even worse, if that be possible, than happened; so I was prepared for it. My case is not half so deplorable as poor lady Masham's, and several of the queen's servants, some of whom have no chance for their bread but the generosity of his present majesty [George I.], which several people that know him very much commend." Thus lady Masham had not gathered riches, or even competence, by her services to queen Anne.

¹ Arbuthnot to Swift, vol. ix. p. 196.—Scott's Swift.

It will be remembered that her majesty had been extremely opposed to Harley's resolution of making the humble attendant a peeress; no doubt, the difficulty of building a competent fortune had perplexed the queen. As to queen Anne's will, the royal personages of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were fully convinced of the uselessness of such documents. "The wills of sovereigns are never obeyed after death," said Louis XIV., not long afterwards; "perhaps as some counterpoise to the having their wills implicitly observed during life."¹

The suspicions of the tendency of queen Anne to the cause of her brother led the whigs to a resolution of de-throning her, which there can be little doubt they would have perpetrated long before, had it not been for the moderation of her successors. Glanville, the member for Hythe, was heard² to declare, "that the queen's and her ministers' designs for the Pretender were well known, and the opposite party had resolved that the queen should not remain on the throne one fortnight; for which purpose they had 16,000 men in readiness, not," he added, "to begin first, but to resist the intrusion of the Pretender." That prince himself was deceived by the hopes grounded on the revived affections of the queen, his sister, to her family, if the following anecdote be authentic. "The chevalier St. George was at Luneville when he received the news of the mortal malady of his sister, queen Anne. He returned to Bar-le-duc to be present at the assembling of his council; as he entered, he said, "If the *princess* Anne dies, I am lost."³ Yet, while queen Anne remained free from delirium, it is evident that she made the strongest distinction between her crime of stigmatizing her brother as a spurious heir, and the act (which was no crime, but an unavoidable necessity) of excluding him from the succession to the British throne as a Roman Catholic. It seems that her remorse for her sin regarding the first, which agonized her death-bed, has been too much confounded with her supposed in-

¹ Memoirs of the Duc de St. Simon.

² By the bishop of London, in 1749; Birch MS. 4326, f. 29.

³ Coxe's MSS., vol. li. folio 1: French letter.

tention of reversing the other; but there is no regal act of her life in contradiction to the settlement which strongly secured the succession to the elector of Hanover. That prince (the next lineal heir to the throne of Great Britain, who was willing at the same time to tolerate the church of England and to take the *new* coronation-oath as a Protestant sovereign) was proclaimed the same day, as George I. king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. In perfect consistency with the moderation and honorable abstinence from intrigue to gain this vast accession of dominion, for which every one must allow George I. due credit, his majesty did not hasten his arrival in England, which remained six weeks without the presence of any sovereign; thus giving the people ample time by their acquiescence to confirm his succession. Lord Berkeley commanded the fleet which was despatched to Orange Polder, in Holland, to await the embarkation of George I.¹ according to his pleasure. The king did not hurry himself, for he arrived not at Greenwich until the 16th of September.

The loss of queen Anne was sincerely deplored in most pulpits throughout England, for she was deservedly beloved both by the clergy and the people. Dr. Sheridan, the friend of Swift, wrote an eloquent oration on the demise of his queen, which he preached with universal applause in Ireland. He had considered himself extremely happy in the choice of his text, as applicable to the first of August, the day of her demise, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." Subsequently, he was appointed chaplain to the then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He was requested by the archdeacon to preach for him at Cork on the anniversary of the accession of George I., which was, of course, on the first of August. Sheridan, struck with the date, and entirely absorbed in his regrets for the last of the Stuart sovereigns, drew forth from some dusty nook his former sermon of lamentation for the loss of his royal mistress, and preached it with an energy and pathos that drew tears from himself and many a desponding Jacobite. Meantime, the Irish courtiers were transfixed with conster-

¹ Swift's Correspondence.

nation. To preach an accession-sermon with such a text, "Sufficient for the day is the *evil* thereof! was a piece of audacity only to be paralleled by the Papist White of Winchester's never-to-be-forgotten sermon at the funeral of the first queen Mary, delivered before her sister and successor Elizabeth, the tenor of which was, "that a living dog was better than a dead lion." Sheridan's sermon has been quoted as a remarkable effort of expiring Jacobitism; it was, however, but an instance of remarkable absence of mind,—one of those practical Irish bulls for which he was noted.¹

Fewer elegies and epitaphs were written on the death of queen Anne than for any previous sovereign of Great Britain. The only ode commemorative of this "queen of the high church" was produced by a dissenting muse. It is in vain to expect from Isaac Watts, in courtly poems, his own genuine style of holy simplicity, which has rendered his name deservedly illustrious. When William III. had departed to his place, Watts dedicated an ode to his memory, in which, in a fit of sectarian enthusiasm, he mistakes the king for an archangel, and finds it difficult to distinguish between—

"Gabriel, or William on the British throne."

Poetic beauty had long departed from royal elegies, and perhaps the performance of Watts equals any strain devoted to the monarchs of the Revolution, although, in the course of it, he does a little business in the courtier-line, by interweaving a curious eulogy on the advent of George I., the rising sun of himself and all his dissenting allies.

"Princess! the world already owns thy name;
Go, mount the chariot of immortal fame,
Nor die to be renowned. Fame's loudest breath
Too dear is purchased by an angel's death!

"But, oh! the parting stroke. Some heavenly power
Cheer thy sad Britons in the gloomy hour;
Some new propitious star appear on high,
The fairest glory of the western sky,
And Anna be the name.

¹ Epistolary Correspondence.—Scott's edition of Swift, p. 482.

"Britons ! forgive the forward muse,
That dared prophetic seals unloose,—
George is the name, that glorious star
Ye saw his splendors beaming far,
Saw in the east your joys arise,
When Anna sunk in western skies.

"'Twas George diffused a vital ray,
And gave the dying nations day.
His influence soothes the Russian bear,
Calms rising wars, and heals the air ;
Joined with the sun, his beams are hurled
To scatter blessings round the world,
Fulfil whate'er the muse has spoke,
And crown the work that Anne forsook."

Notwithstanding the paucity of elegiac odes on queen Anne's death, her memory was cherished with no little affection, many years after her demise, by a distinguished class of her subjects. Swift, who is usually supposed to have been her enemy and calumniator, never speaks of her but with deep reverence ; in one remarkable letter he mentions her as "our late blessed queen."¹ In one of lord Orrery's letters, dated as late as 1741, he says, "Lord Bathurst is at Cirencester, erecting statues and pillars to queen Anne."² Pope, in his poetical letter addressed to lord Mansfield (when he was the elegant young Murray, the Apollo and Adonis of the English bar), gives a sigh of regret, at once to his days of youth and to her memory, by alluding to

"The golden days of my queen Anne."

Among the lower orders, for some years after her death, a cry raised of her name had power to influence them. In the reign of George I., the notorious Edmund Curl was doing penance in the pillory for some of his libellous publications, when he took it into his head to say to the mob, "that he was put there for speaking well of the memory of good queen Anne." Upon which "messieurs the mob" laid aside the various missiles with which they had intended to assail him, and when he had stood his ap-

¹ Inedited autograph in the possession of W. Baillie, Esq., Cavendish square.

² Scott's Swift, vol. xix. p. 257.

pointed time, escorted him to his own home with great respect. Edmund Curl had already lost both his ears for speaking amiss of the parliament,—these disgusting punishments not being abolished by the Revolution.

It was an age when all of biography that was suffered to be connected with history was comprised in labored dissertations called *characters*. A moment's thought will suffice to show how partial or unjust a series of assertions must be, detached from narratives of the facts, or supposed facts, on which they are presumed to be based. In illustration of the fallacy of estimating royal personages like queen Anne, or her sister, Mary II., by such performances, here follow *two* characters¹ of queen Anne, both penned by her domestic traitress and spy, the duchess of Marlborough. The malignant "character" was composed by that person to ornament bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times, meaning to wound the memory of her benefactress beneath the shelter of his shield. The bishop did not think fit to avail himself of the proffered assistance.

"Queen Anne had a person and appearance not at all ungraceful, till she grew *exceeding* gross and corpulent. There was something of majesty in her look, but mixed with a sullen and constant frown, that plainly betrayed a gloominess of soul and cloudiness of disposition within. She seemed to inherit a good deal of her father's moroseness, which naturally produced in her the same sort of stubborn positiveness in many cases, both ordinary and extraordinary, and the same sort of bigotry in religion." This passage, being written for insertion in a party work, appeals to vulgar opinion. The slight contraction in the queen's eyes the writer perfectly well knew had been occasioned by violent inflammation in her childhood, and was not connected with temper. The duchess likewise well knew, and had experienced, that excessive indulgence, and not moroseness, in his family circle, was the fault of the unhappy James II., her own early benefactor. However, this libel was to have been published under bishop Burnet's mask. Thus does the creature of the bounty of those she

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough.

maligms pursue her theme:—"Queen Anne's memory was exceeding great, almost to a wonder, and had these two peculiarities very remarkable,—that she could, when she pleased, forget what others would have thought themselves bound by truth and honor to remember, while she remembered all such things as others would have thought it a happiness to forget. Indeed, she chose to exercise it in very little besides ceremonies and customs of courts, and such like insignificant trifles. So that her conversation, which otherwise might have been enlivened by so great a memory, was only made more empty and trifling by its chiefly turning upon fashions and rules of precedence, or some such poor topics. Upon which account it was a sort of misfortune to her that she loved to have a great crowd come to her, having little to say to them but 'that the weather was either hot or cold,' and little to inquire of them but 'how long they had been in town?' or the like weighty matters. She never discovered any readiness of parts, either in asking questions or in giving answers. In matters of ordinary moment her discourse had nothing of brightness or wit; in weightier matters she never spoke but in a hurry, and had a *certain knack of sticking to what had been dictated to her* to a degree often very disagreeable, and without the least sign of understanding or judgment." As the duchess was considered the queen's "dictator" for thirty years, she had ample opportunity of speaking on this trait of her character; but it only became apparent to her, when the dictatorship was transferred for a few years to another person. "The queen's letters," she continues, "were very indifferent, both in sense and spelling, unless they were generally enlivened with a few passionate expressions,—sometimes pretty enough, but repeated over and over again, without the mixture either of diversion or instruction."

In point of orthography, there was little to choose between the letters of the queen and those of her censorer. They usually made the same mistakes; for instance, they both write *wigs* when they mean whigs, and this, in the midst of an ardent political controversy, often gives laugh-

able equivoques to their discussions. Swift or Addison may be permitted to censure the orthography of that day, which vibrated between unsettled and obsolete words, but not a person who committed the same blunders with those she condemned in the queen. "Queen Anne's civility and good manners in conversation (to which the education of great persons naturally lead) were generally well enough, till, in her latter days, her new friends *untaught* her these accomplishments; and then her whole deportment was visibly changed to that degree that, when some things disagreeable to her own humor or passion have been laid before her, she would descend to the lowest and most shocking terms of contradiction. Her friendships were flames of extravagant passion, ending in indifference or aversion; her love to the prince seemed, in the eyes of the world, to be prodigiously great; but great as was the passion of grief, her stomach was greater. I know that in some libels she has been reproached as one who indulged herself in drinking strong liquors, but I believe this was entirely groundless, and that she never went beyond such a quantity of strong wines as her physicians judged to be necessary for her." The testimony thus given among a mass of malice and misrepresentation, ought to be considered conclusive in the queen's favor, since there cannot exist a doubt that if the malignant writer could have mentioned only one instance in which she had seen the queen guilty of this vice, she would have quoted it without scruple.

"Queen Anne's religion," continues the duchess of Marlborough, "was chiefly implicit faith, accompanied with the form and course of a sort of piety. She had a zeal for the church as for an infallible guide, and a devotion for churchmen to such a degree as if she thought this sufficient to sanctify every other part of her conduct, and the churchmen repaid her civility in compliments and adorations. I have often blushed for her and her preachers, when I have heard it almost constantly affirmed to her face, with the most fulsome flattery, and to her great satisfaction, 'that all we enjoyed was granted by Almighty God as the reward of her piety and religion.' And, indeed, if religion consist

in such zeal and such devotion, or in punctual and formal preparations for the communion, or the like (as she had learned, without doubt, from such tutors as she was blessed with), then it cannot be denied that she had as much religion as could be lodged in one breast." As the duchess of Marlborough was a daring freethinker, down to a late period of life, and (apparently) departed in the same state of mind, her opinion on matters of religion is of little consequence. She breaks out into rage in her next paragraph, where she endeavors to prove many crimes on the poor queen, which merely amount to the fact that the political course she had to pursue and her lately awakened affections were diametrically opposite. Anne was certainly not the worse woman because she did not persist to the end of her life in the obtuseness of feeling of which her uncle, lord Clarendon, has left us so hideous a picture, when, in 1689, she was acting under the domination of her favorite, who was even then her ungrateful calumniator. It is indisputable that, notwithstanding the agony of her internal remorse, the queen expired without in any way impeding the settlement which the country had been necessitated to make of the succession. Therefore the following malignant charges fall short of their mark.

"If religion," continues the duchess, "be justice, truth, sincerity, honor, gratitude, or the like, then one cannot tell what to say ; but let queen Anne's practice speak for itself, —her broken vows, her violated alliances, her behavior to her *old friends* at home, her conduct to her good allies abroad, and the returns she made to her native country for an immense treasure of money and blood, spent for the vindication of her title and the security of her life. She would speak in public of her zeal for the Protestant succession, and once she surprised the nation with the news of a particular friendship between her and the house of Hanover ; but God knows what she meant, unless it were to delude the ignorant part of her people, for as for her heart, there was proof enough in due time that it was engaged at another court [St. Germain's] ; there was little of it left for that house [of Hanover], and it came to be ac-

counted an affront to herself to allude to *it* in addresses to the throne. In most cases queen Anne was insensible of what related to the public, and could, with great coldness and tranquillity, let an express, that was known to come with any important good news, lie unopened for half an hour, though she was alone and had nothing in the world to do, whilst all about her were waiting with the utmost impatience to know the contents of it. She loved fawning and adoration, and hated plain dealing, even in the most important cases. She had a soul that nothing could so effectually move as flattery or fear." How, then, came the person who is thus dissecting her character, to be able to sway her royal benefactress for thirty years? Either she had recourse to the same base means, or, if Anne did not require them, her witness is proved false and malicious.

"A sudden surprise in an unguarded moment would make the truth sometimes discover itself in her look, or in some unlucky word; but if she had time and warning enough to learn her lesson, all the arguments and reasons in the world could *extort* nothing from her that she had not a mind to acknowledge. In such cases she seemed to have the insensibility of a rock, and would resolutely dissemble or disown anything in the world; and by repeating one single answer in the same words, could tire out the patience, and elude all such inquiries as were disagreeable to herself." It is a serious loss to the world that the duchess herself does not subjoin her *own* recipe for eluding a cross-examination when persons were pursuing a series of inquiries "disagreeable to *herself*." According to her system of ethics, a queen-regnant of Great Britain is criminal to the last degree if not explicit in her answers to any questions the keeper of her gowns and cloaks chooses to ask her on state-affairs!

"She had," continues the ungrateful recipient of forty thousand pounds of solid money,¹ "no native generosity of temper, nor was often known of herself to do a hand-

¹ Portions for her daughters of 20,000*l.*, and as much out of the privy-purse as gratuity to herself,—at first refused, and then positively insisted upon. See the statement of the duchess in her printed "Conduct."

some action, either as a reward or as a piece of friendship. The diligence and faithfulness of a servant signified but little with her, where she had no passion for the person; and even to such as she professed to love, her presents were very few, and generally very insignificant, as fruit or venison, or the like, unless in cases where she was directed by precedents in former reigns. In a word, queen Anne had little zeal for the happiness of others, but a selfishness that was great enough to make every other consideration yield to it. She was headstrong and positive in matters of the utmost importance, and at last preferred her own humor and passion before the safety and happiness of her own people and of all Europe, which she had either not sense enough to see, or not goodness enough to regard. Whether her memory will be celebrated by posterity with blessings or curses, time will show." Time has seldom shown a retribution more frightful than this vituperation on a mistress so bountiful to this calumniator as queen Anne had been from her infancy.

Now let us turn the medal, and read the reverse inscription by the same hand:—"Queen Anne had a person and appearance very graceful, something of majesty in her look; she was religious without affectation, and certainly meant to do everything that was just. She had no ambition, which appeared by her being so easy in letting king William come before her to the crown, after the king her father had followed such counsels as made the nation see they could not be safe in their liberty and laws without coming to the extremities they did; and she thought it more for her honor to be easy in it, than to make a dispute who should have the crown first that was taken from her father. And it was a great trouble to her to be forced to act such a part against him, even for security, which was truly the case; and she thought those that showed the least ambition had the best character. *Her journey to Nottingham was purely accidental, never concerted*, but occasioned by the great fright she was in when king James returned from Salisbury; upon which, she said she would rather jump out of the window than stay and see her father."

The falsehood of these assertions is proved by the letter of Anne to William, dated ten days before she absconded, in which she very deliberately mentions her intended flight; nor was there any occasion to perform the hazardous gymnastic of leaping out of a window of the Cockpit into the park to run away, because the princess, by the advice of lady Marlborough, had just had a pair of private stairs constructed, very convenient for the purpose of quietly walking out of the back door. But to proceed with this inimitable document:—"Queen Anne was never expensive, but saved money out of her 50,000*l.* a year, which, after she came to the crown, was paid to prince George of Denmark, which was his by right. She made no foolish building, nor bought one jewel in her reign. She always paid the greatest respect to queen Mary and king William." Excepting a few trifling expressions, such as calling William "Caliban," "Dutch monster," and vulgarer epithets, which occasionally occur in her correspondence with this candid friend, who (as king William's name was a strong party-cry just then) thought it best to scratch them out of her letters; yet, as the duchess of Marlborough made it a practice to show them to her party, a clue remained which rendered them legible under the erasures.¹

However, to proceed with the laudatory character of queen Anne:—"She never insisted upon any one thing of grandeur more than she had when her family [household] was established by king Charles II., though after the Revolution she was heir-presumptive to the crown, and after her sister queen Mary died, was in the place of a prince of Wales. The civil list was not increased on her having the crown, and lord Godolphin, who was treasurer, often said that, from not straining things to hardships, her revenue did not come, one year with another, to more than 500,000*l.* However, as it was found necessary to have a war to secure England from the power of France, she contributed, for the ease of the people, 100,000*l.* out of her own revenue² to lessen the expense in one year. Out of

¹ See the letters of Anne in chronological order, *Life of queen Mary*.

² This and the facts succeeding are verified from sources previously quoted.

the civil list she paid many pensions given in former reigns, which have been since thrown on the public. She gave the first-fruits to be distributed among the poor clergy. Queen Anne was extremely well-bred: she treated her chief ladies and servants as if they had been her equals, and she never refused to give charity when there was the least reason for anybody to ask it. She likewise paid the salaries of most of her sister queen Mary's servants notwithstanding the hardships she had suffered in king William's reign; and, to show how good manager she was for the public, till a very few years before she died she never had but 20,000*l.* a year for her privy-purse, which was vastly less than any king or queen ever had (but at the latter end of her reign she had 26,000*l.*), which was much to her honor, because *that* is subject to no account. And, in comparison with *other* queens [namely, of Mary II. and queen Caroline], queen Anne was as saving in another office,—that of the robes; for it will appear, by all the records in the Exchequer, where the accounts were passed, that in nine years she spent only 32,050*l.*, including her coronation expenses. I have put these facts together for materials for the person who writes the inscription." And, actually, Dr. Hooke compounded a most laudatory character of queen Anne from this sketch, wisely omitting all the figments in the outset; Hooke, as a Jacobite, well knew how daringly false the Marlborough versions of the escapade from the Cockpit were. This fine character of queen Anne is still to be seen on the pedestal of her statue at Blenheim, where it stands to this day.

Those who have read the previous black character drawn of queen Anne by the same person must think the contradictions between the two truly monstrous, and the emanation of a bewildered brain. Some candid persons, disposed to sentimentalize on the fierce duchess, have supposed that after a lapse of time her mind had softened towards her benefactress, and that she wrote the last character as a reparation for the first. But such inferences vanish before the fact that the duchess herself favors the world with her motives in raising a statue at Blenheim to her former

royal mistress, and adorning it with the laudatory inscription, the whole being, avowedly, not to do justice to queen Anne, but to vex and spite queen Caroline, the consort of George II. Here are her words:—"This character of queen Anne is so much the reverse of queen Caroline, that I think it will not be liked at court."¹ In the middle of the last century the duchess of Marlborough hated queen Caroline more than she did queen Anne; such is the real explanation of these discrepancies.

Other contemporary authors have mentioned traits of queen Anne according to their knowledge. When all are collected and examined, certain contradictions occur, for they do not enough distinguish between the actions of Anne in her youth, as an uneducated and self-indulgent woman, and the undeniable improvement in her character when the awful responsibility of a reigning sovereign, whose practical duties were, at that era, by no means clearly defined, awoke her conscience to trembling anxiety for the welfare of her people. Much permanent good she assuredly did, and no evil, as queen-regnant, notwithstanding the ill-natured sarcasm of a whig politician, who, when mentioning her demise at an opportune juncture for the Hanoverian succession, declared that "queen Anne died like a Roman, for the good of her country."² But no sovereign was ever more deeply regretted by the people. The office of regality was, there is no doubt, a painful occupation to her, for her constant complaint was, observes Tindal, "that she was only a crowned slave,"³—the originality of which expression savors not of the dulness generally attributed to this queen.

Her very person is represented differently by those who saw her daily. "Her complexion was ruddy and sanguine; the luxuriance of her chestnut hair has already been mentioned; her face was round and comely, her features strong and regular, and the only blemish in it was that defluxion, which had fallen on her eyes in her childhood, had con-

¹ Opinions of the duchess of Marlborough; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

² Duchess of Marlborough's Private Correspondence; Coxe MS.

³ Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 370.

tracted the lids, and given a cloudiness to her countenance." Thus the frown that the duchess of Marlborough dwells on malevolently did not arise from ill-nature, but from defect of vision. The duchess has likewise given a malignant turn to a trifling incident arising from Anne's near-sightedness, quoted in her early life.¹ "Queen Anne was of a middle stature," observes another contemporary,² "not so personable and majestic as her sister, queen Mary. Her face was rather comely than handsome; it seemed to have a tincture of sourness in it, and, for some years before she died, was rubicund and bloated. Her bones were small, her hands extremely beautiful, her voice most melodious, and her ear for music exquisite. She was brought up in high-church principles, but changed her parties according to her interest. She was a scrupulous observer of the outward and visible forms of godliness and humility in public service; as, for instance, she reproved once the minister at Windsor castle for offering her the sacrament before the clergy present had communicated," thus forgetting her position and dignity as head of the church.

If one of the bitterest of all her revilers, Horace Walpole, may be believed, queen Anne did not show reverence for the liturgy in her daily routine of private life. He says that when queen Anne rose, prayers were read while her ladies dressed her, for the purpose of saving time, in the adjoining room. Now and then the queen's ladies considered it proper to shut the door. One day, a very devout but unworldly chaplain being on duty, he ceased reading when the door was shut; and, to her great wrath, the lady of the bedchamber found he was not further advanced in the service when she opened the door of the queen's bedroom. "Why did you stop?" asked the lady, angrily. "Because, madame," replied the uncompromising clergyman, "I do not choose to whistle the word of God through a keyhole." Whiston, a man of sincere, although rather fanatical tendency of belief, is always mentioned as the person who made this remarkable rejoinder. The inci-

¹ Vol. vii. chap. i., Life of Mary II. and Anne, as princesses.

² Roger Coke's Detection, vol. iii. pp. 303-306.

dent is attributed, by all but Horace Walpole, to queen Caroline, the consort of George II.; and it is certain that Whiston was the chaplain of that queen, and not of queen Anne, who disliked him on an imputation of Socinianism. Her government likewise brought him into some trouble, on account of his works being considered derogatory to the veneration due to the holy Trinity. These circumstances totally acquit queen Anne of this widely known but undeserved stigma, which has been fastened on her memory by the wicked wit of Horace Walpole, who thought the story too good to be lost, and dared not give it to the right owner. Great ladies had, in those days, a bad custom of proceeding with the affairs of the toilet during prayers, which was severely satirized in one of the old plays of that era, where the fashionable belle is described preparing for her morning toilet by saying her prayers in bed to save time, while one maid put on her stockings, and the other read aloud the play-bill.

The duchess of Marlborough acquits her royal mistress of all this reckless profanity at private prayers, by abusing her as a "godly, praying idiot," when in the seclusion of her chamber.¹ "Her life would have lasted longer," says another contemporary, who cannot forgive the harassed, world-wearied queen for dying at a political crisis, "if she had not eaten so much,—a propensity not derived from her father, king James, who was most abstemious, but from her mother. I say," continues Coke, "she supped too much chocolate, and died monstrously fat; insomuch that the coffin wherein her remains were deposited was almost square, and was bigger than that of the prince, her husband, who was known to be a fat, bulky man." There are prints extant, representing the queen's coffin when placed by her husband in the Stuart vault;² if they may be depended upon, both Coke and Thoresby, who went to see the lying in state of queen Anne, have exaggerated when they represent her coffin as a square every way.

¹ Coxe MS., Brit. Museum. Lord Dartmouth, in his *Notes to Burnet*, repeats this term, which is besides to be found among the MSS. of the duchess.

² Crowle's *Illustration of Pennant's London*.

The queen's effigy in wax was certainly prepared for the purpose of being placed on her coffin. It is still in Westminster abbey, and represents her as a very tall, as well as a very large woman. As it is the only funeral memorial that remains of this queen-regnant, it ought not to be destroyed. The antiquarian, Thoresby, followed the royal remains, and watched the final process which shut them from the world. "The lords justices [lords of the regency] had resolved to bury the queen on Sunday the 22d of August; but as, meantime, they received letters from George I., with directions that her majesty's body should be interred with all the pomp and decency consistent with a private burial, the ceremony took place on Tuesday, the 24th, when she was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel with great solemnity."¹ The difference implied by the terms public and private funeral seems to be, that the latter took place at night, or in the evening, by torch-light. "There had been," observes Thoresby, "a new vault made on the south side of Henry VII.'s chapel, in which the corpse of Charles II., and that of his nephew William III., of queen Mary, and prince George of Denmark lie. Here the remains of queen Anne were deposited, and there being no more room left, the vault was bricked up, having thus received the last sovereign of the royal name of Stuart that was ever destined to wear the regal garland of this realm."

Mourning rings for queen Anne were worn by the ladies of her household.² The ring is a heart-shaped locket, enclosing the queen's fine silky hair,—brown, slightly mixed with gray. The crystal is surmounted by a little crown of jewel-work, exquisitely modelled in gold, with a few diamond sparks. Inscribed at the back of the locket, which is of solid gold, are the words ANNA REGINA, with her age, and the date of her decease in Roman characters. No

¹ Rae's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 73.

² A mourning ring of the kind, which has furnished the above description, was given after the decease of the queen to one of her ladies, Mrs. More, from whom it descended to Mrs. Buchanan, who at present possesses it. Her maiden name was Irene Pearce, and the ring was a treasured heirloom in her family.

monument, not so much as the simplest tablet, marks the spot where queen Anne rests; nor could the humblest female pauper that ever breathed her last in a workhouse repose less distinguished in death than this queen of Great Britain. The church of England owes her some memorial, for she deprived herself of much personal pomp and magnificence in order to benefit the church; she stands indubitably at the head of the short but illustrious list of Protestant founders. In ancient times, when a monastery or a college was endowed, the tomb of the founder was carefully preserved, and gratefully regarded through succeeding ages; but vainly may we ask for the monument of the foundress of 'the Bounty' which amplified the scanty livings of that church, the clergy of which are (as often observed) the worst and the best paid of any in the world.

Although queen Anne was, before she departed this life, on friendly terms with the king of France, she made no effort to afford sepulture to the uninterred bones of her father, and that duty finally devolved on a distant kinsman. In fact, the body of James II. remained unburied for a century after his daughter's death, and the circumstances regarding it form the last extraordinary incidents in the history of the regal personages of the house of Stuart. Lights were kept burning round the hearse of James II. until the French revolution. The church of the Benedictines, in the fauxbourg St. Jacques, was then desecrated;¹ but when the revolutionists opened the coffin of James II., they found the corpse entire, and in an extraordinary state of preservation. James had always been greatly beloved and revered in France, and at the sight of his remains the crowd were seized with superstitious awe, and they were defended from those who would have destroyed them. How strange, that the bones of the stranger and the exile in the land should be revered, when those of the royal personages of France were disinterred and profaned! The municipal authorities took possession of the hearse and body; but the people crowding to see them from all parts of Paris, and being willing to pay for the sight, the func-

¹ It has since been turned into a cotton-spinning factory.

tionaries charged from a sou to a franc for admission, and made the show of our king's corpse a profitable concern.¹ Will it be credited that, in the midst of the infidelity of the Revolution, whispers went of miracles performed by the corpse of James II.? Robespierre ordered the body to be buried, which was not done, but it was carefully and reverently preserved. When the allies came to Paris in 1813, the body of the unfortunate James II. still remained above ground, and the strange circumstance being mentioned to George IV., he generously ordered the bones of his kinsman to be carried in funeral procession from Paris to St. Germain's, and there interred in the church. The long-delayed funeral of James II. then took place with royal grandeur. No mourners of his lineage attended his coffin on its return to St. Germain's, for his race had passed away; yet his people followed him to the grave, for most of the English in Paris, setting aside all religious and political differences, attended the *cortège* in the deepest

¹ The incidents here detailed and reduced to narrative were carefully collected by personal inquiry from the traditions of Paris and of St. Germain's, and from the information of some family connections of the author, who attended the long-delayed funeral. Since the earlier editions of this biography, the truth of the above statement has been curiously corroborated by an eyewitness, a Mr. Fitzsimons, an Irish gentleman, who had attended the late sir William Follett as teacher of languages at Toulouse; he has published the following reminiscences in Notes and Queries, vol. ii. p. 243:—"During the French revolution of the Terror, I was prisoner in the convent of the English Benedictines, rue St. Jacques. In the year 1793 or '94, the body of James II. was still in one of the chapels there, awaiting interment in Westminster abbey. It had never been buried. The body was in a wooden coffin, enclosed in a leaden one, and that again in one covered with black velvet. While I was there, the *sans-culottes* broke the coffins to get at the lead, to cast bullets. The body lay exposed a whole day; it had been embalmed. The corpse was beautiful and perfect; the hair and nails were very fine. I moved and bent every finger; I never saw so fine a set of teeth in my life. A young lady, a fellow-prisoner, wished much to have a tooth; I tried to get one out for her, but could not, they were so firmly fixed. The feet, also, were very beautiful. The face and cheeks were just as if he were alive. I rolled his eyes, and the eyeballs were perfectly firm under my fingers. Money was given to the *sans-culottes* for showing the body. They said he was a good *sans-culotte*, and that they were going to put him into a hole in the church-yard, like other *sans-culottes*; and the body was carried away, but where thrown I never heard. Around the chapel of St. Jacques several wax moulds were hung up, made, probably, at the time of the king's death; the corpse was very like them."

mourning. The indications of respect were extraordinary. Every English person behaved as if following the coffin of a beloved sovereign, who had died only the previous week.

George IV. directed a monument to be raised in the church of St. Germain's to the memory of his unfortunate predecessor. It is of white, gray, and black marble, and, notwithstanding its simplicity, it possesses some elegance. An inscription in Latin marks the name and rank of the deceased, and the fact of his interment in 1813. James II. is the only British sovereign deceased between the years 1603 and 1813 to whom a funeral monument has been raised. So closes the last historical incident relating to our ancient royal line.

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